JULY 18
1944

NEW MASSES

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by M. MORAWSKI

CAN DEWEY DO IT?

by SENDER GARLIN

BEHIND THE BRICKER BUTTON

by BRUCE MINTON

TOWARD EAST PRUSSIA

by COLONEL T.

INSIDE LEWIS MUMFORD

A Review of his new book by Joel Bradford

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

FOR quite a while now we've seen a pretty, dark-haired girl going past our office door with a portfolio of drawings under her arm. You've seen many of them in the magazine, we discovered, when we met her the other day. She's Edith Glaser, whose "Bridgehead" (July 11), is one of our favorites. We asked her lots of questions and she obliged—since she's a very regular contributor, we thought we'd pass it on.

Ten hours a day, six days a week, she works as a precision inspector in a war plant. After hours, on Sundays, and holidays, she draws, paints—as far as we can tell, works in almost every medium. In her very youth (she's only twenty-five now) she received several scholarships, but about then happened on Tolstoy, and after discovering that he condemned formal art school training, decided to do it by herself. She tried a course of intensive reading, hitch-hiking, and visiting museums and galleries, along with being a perfume-bottle capper, working behind a soda fountain, and as a settlement school art teacher in Flushing, N. Y. When Pearl Harbor came along, she found her real job, she says, and she's been plugging away in her factory ever since. You'll be seeing more of Edith Glaser.

SENDER GARLIN, whose article, "Can Dewey Do It?" appears in this issue, is the author of a new pamphlet, "Is Dewey the Man?" Just off press, the illustrations are by William Gropper, and one of them appears on page 3.

Garlin, former Albany correspondent for the *Daily Worker*, has had a good seat for observing the complicated currying and grooming process. His next article for NM, which will appear in an early issue, deals with "The Men Around Dewey"—advisers, promoters, press specialists, etc. Alongside the McCormicks, Pews, and Hoovers, there are the less-known, but nonetheless powerful upstate boys-in-the-back-room who will have everything they can get. You'll want to know who they are and how they work.

AND while we're on the election, as we will be for the next three and a half months, A. B. Magil goes back to Chicago next week for the Democratic convention. Judging by the letters we've received on his coverage of the Republican performance, NM's readers are looking forward to his account of the coming gathering.

From Chicago, Mr. Magil is scheduled for a week's speaking tour through the Middle West. His lectures will include an analysis of both conventions, and perspectives from now until November. For our out-of-town readers, a notation of the dates on which he will appear in various cities follows: July 22, Chicago—Illinois Room (air-cooled), La Salle Hotel; July 25, Minneapolis; July 26, Milwaukee; July 27-28 (pending); July 29, Cleveland; July 30, Columbus; July 31, Pittsburgh (pending).

As we go to press it is fairly certain that Roosevelt will be a candidate. This doesn't mean that any of us can let down. He must be assured of every bit of win-the-war support in this country. If you have not already written or wired the White House, urging the President to run for a fourth term, please do so pronto.

RIGHT now we'd like to say a few thousand thank you's. To the servicemen, housewives, war plant workers, professionals, to our readers everywhere—you have helped pull us through a tough publishing period. We have not only our usual budget to meet—there are new expenses. Printing, engraving, and paper bills whizzed skyward. It isn't an easy time for you, either. Higher taxes, a close-to-the-roof cost of living, all sorts of wartime emergencies combine to clean your pay envelopes. Yet, in a hundred resourceful ways, you responded to NM's fund drive—through personal contributions, parties, and community quotas, to mention only a minimum. We banked on this support; we weren't disappointed and we'll do everything we can to see that you aren't.

OTHELLO, starring Paul Robeson, recently closed in New York after thirty-seven weeks—a record breaker for the play. In early September its road tour begins. And in all contracts with out-of-town theaters something new has been added—a proviso to the effect that in each city a specified percentage of preferred ground floor seats will be at Mr. Robeson's disposal. This means that even in communities where Jim Crow is most rampant, Negroes will have a chance to see this great production—and from decent seats. It ought to be a precedent, it seems to us, for all road companies.

MOST people don't have access to even a tiny fraction of the thousands of magazines and periodicals published in this country. And there are times when a fairly complete topical knowledge in any of a number of given fields is essential. Then, usually, the most convenient source is the public library through its periodical indexes. What information is available there, what is not, and why, will be the subject of a provocative article to be published soon—"Periodical Indexing and the War," by Henry Black, chief librarian at the Jefferson School, and expert in library research.

M. DE A.

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NEW MASSES
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CAN DEWEY DO IT?

By SENDER GARLIN

When Thomas Edmund Dewey arrived in Albany for his inauguration as governor of New York State in January 1943, observers noticed that he had come equipped with a long silver cigarette holder which bore a striking resemblance to the one favored by President Roosevelt. A small thing, you will say, and yet it was Plutarch and not Dewey's idolatrous biographer, Rupert Hughes, who in his profile of Alexander, observed that: "The most glorious exploits do not always furnish us with the clearest discoveries of virtue or vice in men; sometimes a matter of less moment, an expression or a jest, informs us better of their characters and inclinations than the most famous sieges, the greatest armaments, or the bloodiest battles whatsoever. . . ."

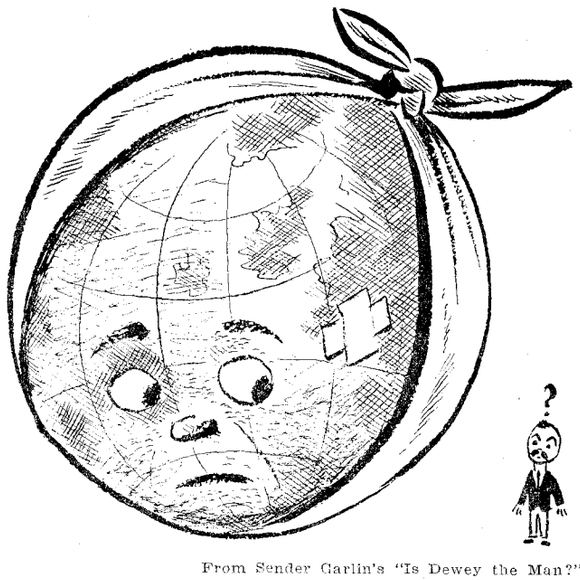
Fact is Tom Dewey has for a long time nursed a passionate ambition to supplant Franklin D. Roosevelt as President of the United States and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. He won the nomination for President because he and his supporters built a streamlined political machine for the purpose . . . in the same manner that he got the nomination for the New York State governorship. But Mr. Dewey has always sought to give the impression that he is office-shy. His public relations device was to affect a preoccupied manner, the pose of a public official too busy with the job at hand to indulge in grandiose political ambitions.

Reported the New York *Times* of August 9, 1937: "Thomas E. Dewey, rackets prosecutor, continued firm yesterday in his apparent determination not to run for district attorney of New York County on the Fusion ticket. Strong efforts were being made to get him to reconsider, and hopes were expressed by those seeking to persuade him that he finally would consent to run as a matter of public duty." These efforts on the part of his own publicity staff were apparently crowned with success, for contemporary newspaper chronicles record that Mr. Dewey, indubitably as a matter of public duty, decided to neglect his private fortunes and run for district attorney. Then appeared an item, also in the *Times* (May 25, 1938): "District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey of New York County was revealed today as having rejected a request from up-state sources that he be a candidate for the Republican nomination for governor this fall." In a letter to the Young Men's Republican Club of Albany Dewey wrote, according to the same dispatch: ". . . I am devoting all my time to my duties as district attorney of the county of New York, and am not a candidate for any other office." He ran for governor that fall and was defeated.

Snugly ensconced in the governor's chair at Albany four years later, cigarette holder and all, Mr. Dewey began assiduously to reject suggestions—which he and his backers themselves obviously inspired—that he be a candidate for the Republican nomination for President in 1944. This is what he told the New York *Daily News* (Jan. 1, 1943): "I am not a candidate for the presidential nomination and I will not be a candidate." He announced it with a forthrightness which was strangely lacking from his speeches on vital domestic and foreign problems. And he added, rhetorically but with a cogency for which one seeks in vain in the Republican platform on which Dewey is now running for President: "How can any governor do a good job in New York State and at the same time keep his eyes on his political prospects in forty-seven other states?" To make his position unmistakable, Governor Dewey not long afterward served notice that he was a novice in the political game by asserting in the press that "I do not believe that an honest-to-goodness draft ever nominated the presidential candidate for one of the major political parties."

During all the time Mr. Dewey was denying he was a candidate for the presidency his backers, led by the New York State Republican Chairman Edwin F. Jaeckle and GOP National Committeeman J. Russell Sprague, were active in the various state primaries and lining up instructed delegates in preparation for the Chicago convention which "drafted" Mr. Dewey for President. Nor is it without interest that after Dewey had been duly nominated the *World-Telegram*, in reporting that twenty-two rooms on the tenth floor of the Hotel Roosevelt in New York had been engaged as national GOP campaign headquarters, recalled casually that the governor had maintained a "personal headquarters" there for the past year and a half. All for the purpose, no doubt, of rejecting the urgent and well-organized pleas that he be a candidate for the Republican nomination for President.

Governor Dewey's refusal to state he was the GOP candidate while his backers were busy promoting his candidacy was, of course, not mere shyness. It was a calculated technique. By declining for months to enter the race openly and frankly, he was able to avoid committing himself on the major domestic and foreign issues which press for decision.



From Sender Garlin's "Is Dewey the Man?"
Gropper views Tom Dewey's presidential aspirations.

By no stretch of the imagination can Dewey be accused of lacking self-confidence. The governor is doubtless as pleased with Rupert Hughes' support of his candidacy in the Hearst press as he is with that author's gurgling biography of himself. In plugging for Dewey Mr. Hughes wrote, in *Attorney for the People*: "One could cite Alexander the Great, who took over the government at Macedonia at nineteen and was administrator of a large part of the world at the time of his death at the age of thirty-three. At thirty-four Napoleon was chairman of the Council of State that worked out the great books of laws known as the Code Napoleon; at thirty-five he was Em-

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peror of France and master of practically the whole of Europe. His relentless enemy, William Pitt, was Chancellor at twenty-three and at twenty-four was Premier of the British Empire in the greatest crisis in all its history."

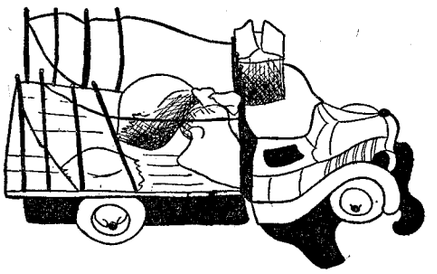
And neither Alexander the Great, Napoleon, nor William Pitt had Herbert Hoover and Alf Landon to advise them.

When Daniel Webster was chided about his youth, he retorted that he was doing something every day to overcome that handicap. Mr. Dewey, however, is seeking to make a campaign slogan out of the fact that he is forty-two years old. In his convention acceptance speech he talked about "tired and quarrelsome" old men in the national administration, but as Earl Browder has observed, Dewey "and the other young men in Chicago displayed the most dismal inability to express any young thoughts."

Tom Dewey hasn't been in public life long enough to be tired, but he's plenty quarrelsome, as most of the Albany correspondents and even many members of his own pliant legislature will tell you. The late Huey P. Long had nothing on Dewey when it came to running a legislature. Of course, their techniques were different. Huey wasn't really "quarrelsome." He simply threw the boys off the payroll if they didn't play nice.

"Developments to date," reported the New York *Times* of Feb. 22, 1943, "have shown Governor Dewey to be in complete control, with both houses following a course which the State's chief executive laid out after conferences with the legislative leaders and his own close advisers." This was about the time that the Senate minority leader, scrappy little John Dunnigan, shouted on the floor of the State Senate that the legislature was being run from the "second floor." Majority Leader Joe R. Hanley (now lieutenant-governor) weakly denied the charge in a loud voice, but nobody seemed convinced. In Albany one hears a great deal, especially from Republicans, about that "second floor," where Dewey's executive offices are situated.

There was the case of Assemblyman Abbot Low Moffat, head of the powerful GOP-controlled Ways and Means Committee of the Assembly. Moffat had been in the legislature about fifteen years. A grand-nephew of the late Seth Low, one-time president of Columbia University and mayor of New York, Moffat was one of the big stars of the Assembly. He was the fiscal expert and always carried the ball for Majority Leader Irving M. Ives on financial legislation as well as on other matters of high policy. Not long after Dewey took over Moffat quit his Assembly seat, and it was freely rumored about Albany that he had declined to continue to play page boy to the imperious Dewey.



Part of the same pattern is the significant admission of Mr. Ives, presumably a member of the governor's inner council, who acknowledged on the floor of the Assembly the day that Dewey sent down his budget message, that he had never set eyes on the document before. Students of the Albany scene point out that Gov. Herbert H. Lehman was in the habit of consulting not only the legislative leaders of his own party, but those of the opposition as well.

It would, however, be unfair to candidate Dewey to say he consults no one at all on vital matters of state. For, as the Albany correspondents sang in their annual show last year, "You Gotta Get Jaeckle's OK." The boys were alluding to Edwin F. Jaeckle, a taxpayer of Buffalo, Erie County, New York.

LIKE Dewey, Jaeckle has seldom sought high public office. He is a plain citizen who spends his life watching out for the interests of his country via the Republican Party.

"It has become apparent," wrote Warren Moscow, chief of the New York *Times* Albany bureau, "that major subjects on which legislative, and sometimes executive, decisions are to be made are referred to Mr. Jaeckle for a decision, this being particularly true when the proposal under discussion is not of personal concern to Governor Dewey. . . . Mr. Jaeckle's expanded role is by now a generally accepted commonplace, so much so that it has caused little comment." (New York *Times*, March 21, 1943).

Jaeckle, as State Chairman of the GOP, likes to keep his eye on things. Hence, when Dewey moved into Albany, Jaeckle took headquarters at the Ten Eyck in the capital city. Jaeckle is an old-time operator, talks on the record even less than Dewey, who is probably not his type at all. But they say Jaeckle and Dewey get along fine, especially so since the governor discovered that the Buffalo political boss knows how to do things the Farley way. When Jaeckle, back in 1926, was serving as clerk of the Erie County Board of Supervisors, he fixed it so one Charlie Ulrich became county treasurer. Ulrich, in turn, appointed Jaeckle to the county post of collector of back taxes, which is a fee-paying job and means what it says. As a result, Jaeckle's law practice flourished, although he isn't the kind to ruin his eyes over Blackstone, Coke, and the Amended Statutes of the State of New York.

Politics interests Mr. Jaeckle much more than drawing up legal papers, but sometimes he makes an exception and curbs his reputed temperamental aversion to framing documents, as when his law firm prepared the incorporation papers for the German-American Bund of Buffalo. And, although he is not given to speechifying, Mr. Jaeckle delivered an address in German at the German Day celebration in Buffalo on August 8, 1937, at which Nazi Ambassador Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff also appeared. While Jaeckle was extolling "the historic background of the German race," the Nazi envoy was bellowing that "a leader stands at the helm of Germany . . . one of the most powerful men in the world."

A couple of years after that meeting Fritz Kuhn, convicted Nazi Bund leader, stood before Judge Cornelius F. Collins in New York City. Thomas E. Dewey was the prosecutor. Judge Collins rebuked Dewey for asking low bail for Kuhn in these words: "If I had no suggestion from the District Attorney I would not have been so lenient. . . . Five thousand dollars is a very modest sum. . . . I will be frank enough to say that if the question of bail had been left up to me I would not have been so modest about it."

I leave it to subtler minds to explain "the real Dewey," but there is really nothing baffling about the Dewey personality. The governor has the appearance and "front" of a typical business executive (say of the $10,000 a year class), an energetic advertising man, a stockbroker, a successful lawyer. . . . He could easily be mistaken for a small town banker, an efficient one whose desk is always clear, a man who would foreclose without hesitation if the interest on the mortgage wasn't in under the wire. It is doubtful whether Governor Dewey has any genuine interest in history, economics, and world affairs. One might venture the suggestion that these are still "subjects" to him, faintly evocative of courses (with credits) at Ann Arbor, but hardly related to the crucial issues of the present day. Reports have it that he told acquaintances some time ago that he had engaged someone to prepare abstracts of latest fiction for him, so that he would be "up on" current literature.

SECRETARY ICKES is credited with the observation that Dewey's speeches are the best that money can buy. But among newspapermen the opinion is current that his closest adviser on foreign policy (along with Herbert Hoover) is the Wall Street international lawyer, John Foster Dulles. Whether Hoover or Dulles counseled Dewey on his speech at the nineteenth an-

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nual luncheon of the Women's Republican Club at the Hotel Astor (as reported in the New York *Times*, Jan. 21, 1940), is immaterial. In any event, Dewey on that occasion assailed recognition of the Soviet Union and attacked the Roosevelt administration in these words: "It has recently been revealed that within the past year the administration seriously considered still another deal with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. In a futile attempt to avert war, it actually explored the possibilities of a fantastic partnership with Russia. . . . We need no such partnerships. . . ."

Times changed, perhaps his advisers thought it impolitic to persist in this kind of talk, with the result that in a speech to the American Newspaper Publishers Association in New York on April 27, 1944, Dewey advocated "solid relations" among the United States, Great Britain, the USSR, and China in solving postwar problems. In this address, one of the few relatively plain-spoken ones on foreign policy, Dewey resorted to the device of separating Secretary of State Hull from President Roosevelt, snidely observing that "we cannot be sure" to what extent foreign policy is being handled by Secretary Hull and to what extent it is being handled "privately" by the President. It requires no occult powers to divine that Dewey's speech had the primary aim of seeking the votes that Willkie would have got. Moreover, the fact that he was compelled to endorse all the premises of the President's foreign policy is proof of its overwhelming support among the American people.

Previously, in a discourse before the Press Photographers Association of New York at the Museum of Science and Industry on March 24 last, Governor Dewey had scoffed at the idea of a durable peace coming from "a few men seated around a conference table," and sneered at "the much-heralded conference in Teheran," of which, he asserted, "we still know precisely nothing." By and large, this was the tack that the GOP candidate pursued in his Chicago acceptance speech.

Dewey has been shrewd enough not to attempt to tangle with the labor movement in New York State. Nevertheless one can say with assurance that he has both a fear and suspicion of organized labor—except, of course, that represented by such as William Hutcheson of the AFL Carpenters Union, whose boom for the GOP vice presidency having died aborning, now hopes for the Labor Secretaryship in the event of a GOP victory in November.

DEWEY'S record on social and labor legislation as Governor of New York State provides a preview of the kind of national administration he would head should he realize his presidential ambitions.

What is that record?

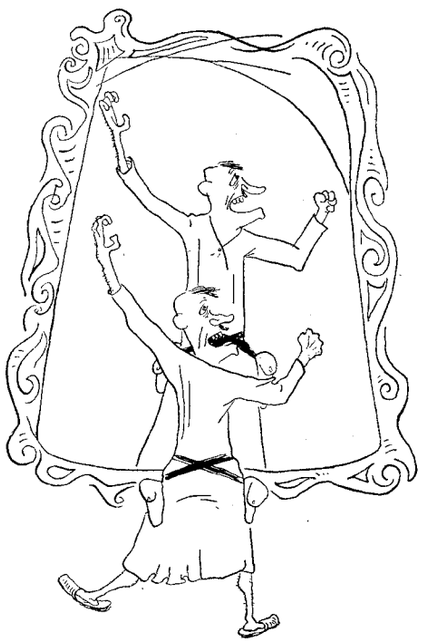
1. In none of his legislative messages in the eighteen months that he has been governor has Dewey even so much as mentioned the Axis enemy by name or indicated who our allies are, or even that we have allies, for that matter. In his inaugural address he merely said this is a "war by malignant, reactionary forces against the dignity and strength of the individual."

2. Dewey is largely responsible for the fact that the 800,000 servicemen and women from New York State who are eligible to vote will have a tough time doing so because of obstacles put in their way. He can take a large part of the credit for defeating a federally-supervised, uniform soldiers' ballot.

3. Despite the fact that the New York State constitution permits the legislature to vote a credit of an additional $150,000,000 for public housing—an urgent war necessity—the Republicans appropriated only $35,000,000, and this for planning new postwar projects. A Republican spokesman, expressing the viewpoint and policy of Governor Dewey, offered the explanation that the state administration is opposed to public housing "except in extreme emergency."

4. Ostentatiously devoted to an archaic formula on which state aid to education is based, Dewey proposed slashing state aid by almost $8,000,000. Loud protests from every part of the state forced him to back down, and he restored reductions in some areas. He vetoed three bills which would have emancipated substitute teachers from their present peonage status in the New York City public school system.

5. In the matter of health, housing, and child care, Governor Dewey has given only as much as he was pressured into giving, irrespective of the state's needs, despite his boast of a $163,000,000 surplus (more than half of it a legacy from the Lehman administration).



6. He declined to give a hearing to George Burrows, a young Negro sought by Mississippi authorities on a trumped-up "rape" charge, and extradited him on the request of the southern governor. Using a docile Republican majority in the legislature, Governor Dewey blocked the passage of virtually every anti-discrimination measure. The public scandal resulting from the resignation of eight members of his own Committee on Discrimination, who charged Dewey with giving the bills the run-around, focused public attention on the real attitude of the GOP toward the Negro people.

7. Dewey's fake cry of a "feed shortage," aimed to discredit the federal administration, prompted Sen. Joseph Guffy (D., Pa.) to charge that: "Those who engage in that type of propaganda, regardless of motives, are playing the game of the enemy, just as surely as though they were on Hitler's payroll."

8. While Dewey's activities as a racket buster have brought him nation-wide publicity, not so much is known about his discreet handling of situations which might embarrass the Republican machine. On March 19 of this year a federal grand jury indicted thirteen officials of the Hodcarriers Union, including the international president, Joseph V. Moreschi, on charges of conspiring to misappropriate a half million dollars in union funds. On June 13 the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court handed down a decision which branded Moreschi and his clique as racketeers. "Rarely, if ever, have the rights of workmen been more brutally assailed," the court noted. Observers are asking why Dewey refused to follow through on grand jury investigations initiated by former Governor Lehman involving racketeering by Hodcarrier officials as well as prominent Westchester County Republican politicians.

IN EVALUATING Governor Dewey's claims to the presidency, his record as governor of New York State must be constantly borne in mind. On the basis of this record —in relation to the soldier ballot, Negro discrimination, housing, health, education, child care—one is justified in drawing conclusions about his approach to national and international issues. But in addition to his state record, there are Dewey's comments or lack of comments on the most vital questions of the day, there are his sponsors—Herbert Hoover, Col. Robert R. McCormick, Alf Landon—there is the reactionary platform on which he seeks the presidency, a platform that would mean disaster to all sections of the population, including business. All these factors clearly mark Thomas E. Dewey as wholly unfit to lead America in war and in peace.

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BEHIND THE BRICKER BUTTON

By BRUCE MINTON

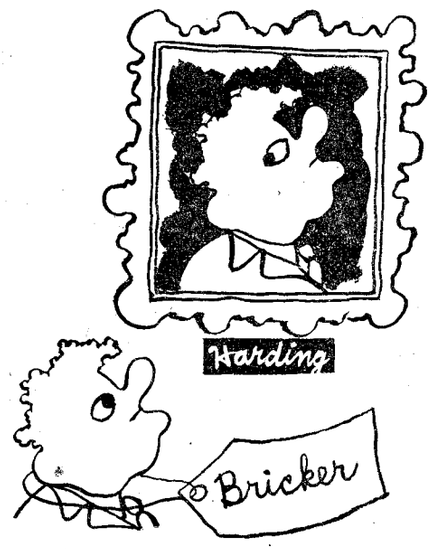
THE Republicans cheered Gov. John William Bricker of Ohio but they nominated Gov. Thomas Dewey of New York for President. My hunch is that ever since that broiling hot Wednesday in Chicago when Bricker stepped aside with a show of good sportsmanship that did not conceal his sour reluctance, the coterie of Bricker henchmen back in Columbus, O., have been reliving the past two years and trying to determine at what point their man missed the boat. When I was in Columbus last April, the wise guys were pretty bitter about Dewey. They said Dewey was unfair. Honest John had his neck stuck way out and the least Dewey could do was to observe the same rules.

The year before, the same stalwarts were already complaining. They grumbled that Sen. Robert Taft had doublecrossed Bricker. The Ohio governor's road had been smooth and easy until Taft threw Bricker's hat in the presidential ring ten to twelve months too soon. Taft knew very well what he had done to John, said the Columbus experts, and everyone admitted that Taft's sly maneuver boded no good.

Perhaps Bricker shouldn't have visited Washington last spring. He lumbered into the capital on a build-up tour, and even John O'Donnell, the smart-aleck columnist for the McCormick-Patterson newspapers, broke down and confessed that Bricker was a political goose-egg. Mrs. Bricker was delightfully demure, to be sure, and reminiscent of Mrs. Coolidge. But even so, the combined Bricker charms did not prevent Senator Vandenberg from telling his friend Taft that after seeing and hearing Ohio's hopeful, he, Vandenberg, could find no reason why he should switch his support from General MacArthur.

Again, Bricker may have lost out a month later when he stumped Oklahoma in support of the Republican candidate for the Senate—and the recipient of his zeal failed to win the election. Or was it Bricker's subsequent tour of the country that killed his chances? The interminable speeches full of sound and fury recalled nothing so much as a nodding Harding—an honest Harding, as he is called, the unkindest cut of all. Just before the convention Dewey goaded the plodding Bricker too far: the Columbus mastodon lashed out at his most dangerous rival, challenging the gang buster to say something—anything. For the more Bricker talked and the more Dewey didn't, the faster Bricker's rating in the polls of the Republican favorites slipped toward the vanishing point.

Last February Bricker hinted that he would not scorn the vice-presidential nomination—his publicity staff protested vehemently that the governor meant something else—what, they refused to specify. I have no idea what deal eliminated Gov. Earl Warren of California from the ticket. I do know that Warren is not too sure of Republican chances this year and he has his eye on 1948. By ducking the calamity of second place this time, Warren hopes to lead his party four years from now to an inevitable victory. Bricker evidently rejected the idea of waiting. After all, his job is ending in Columbus and his future prospects are vague. He and his friends want to get to Washington—one way or the other.



Jamison

The governor's mouthpieces were inclined last winter to resent hints that Taft had any part of Bricker. The charming pretense that the Senator is no more than a loyal friend—and doublecrosser—was not supposed to fool people; the patter was merely deemed expedient. Taft came to Chicago with Bricker as his property to bargain for or trade. Taft helped persuade Bricker to yield gracefully and accept second billing. If the Republicans win, Taft, who considers his own reelection foreordained, will become the most powerful figure in the Senate. Taft and his colleagues among the Republican Old Guard are playing the same game as their 1920 predecessors, Senators Lodge, Brandegee, Curtiss, and their friends—they hope to rob the Chief Executive of power and to place the decisive direction of national affairs in the hands of a Senate cabal led by Taft. That is why the Senator preferred Bricker to the more stubborn and unpredictable Dewey. Perhaps Taft delivered Bricker to Dewey in return for a promise of a post in the Cabinet. Certainly, Taft lost nothing when he traded Bricker.

BRICKER ostensibly strengthens the vote-getting power of the Republican ticket. He is expected to carry Ohio—whether he will or not is another matter. Presumably, his influence will also be strong in the important states of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Kentucky. At best, Warren could swing California—though the recent primaries hardly testified to his pulling power. Moreover, California has no powerful political hinterland—it is surrounded by states with insignificant electoral votes. Then too, Warren has been overcautious; he has said next to nothing (less than Dewey, in fact) and the Republicans need a facade. In Dewey they have a man who bravely upholds an evasive "internationalism" concocted by that grand old appeaser, Herbert Hoover; in Bricker, they have an isolationist of parts, decked out in the doubletalk of Taft. What could be nicer? The voters can take their pick of seeming opposites, both committed solidly to kindliness, beauty, manhood, womanhood, and a bit of defeatism to pretty things up.

But who is this idol of the Republican convention, this smiling, handsome, generous John W. Bricker? Yes, he was born in a log cabin; at least, the old farmhouse was made of wood, and the structure was hardly a palace—which certainly implies it was a cabin. Bricker's forebears came to Pennsylvania from the Palatinate; one of his family fought in the Revolutionary War of 1776. By 1830, the family had settled in Ohio; sixty-three years later, on September 6, 1893, in the "log cabin" situated on the "tiny" 100-acre farm in Pleasant Township, Madison County, Ohio (just outside Columbus) the comfortably fixed farmer family was blessed with a son, John William. The boy had the preposterous political good luck to attend a one-room country school. Later young John worked his way through Ohio State University. The war interrupted his studies in 1917. Pictures show twenty-three-year-old Bricker as round-faced, tall, and robust. He served the Army as chaplain.

Bricker returned to Ohio State after the war to complete his law education. He married cozy Harriet Day, a chemistry student. For three years after graduation he practiced law on his own, and then turned to politics. He progressed easily. In 1923-27, he served as assistant attorney general for Ohio. In 1928 he was the

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Republican nominee for attorney general. As such he was defeated, but in 1929 he was appointed a member of the Public Utilities Commission, where he remained until 1932. In 1933 he campaigned successfully for the post of attorney general, which he held for four years; in 1936 he ran for governor and lost to Martin L. Davey. He won the governorship, however, in 1938, and was reelected in 1940 and 1942, the first Republican to serve three consecutive terms.

Bricker always managed to steer clear of troublesome issues which might commit him politically and complicate his future. He was a regular, a good party man. His only sin in twenty years of public service was to defend, while a member of the Public Utilities Commission, the city of Columbus' forty-eight-cent gas rate against the demand by the power company for a fifty-five-cent rate. His crusade annoyed some people of importance, but Honest John did not err again and old wounds healed. As governor, he showed his true quality. He raised the Red-scare during his first term, although he avoided serious labor disputes. On the other hand, he repeatedly refused to be influenced by labor's demands for a special session of the legislature to facilitate legislation providing for the soldiers' vote. A special session cost too much, said Bricker. He kept the legislature out of Columbus for two years because he felt he could run things more efficiently—it is unfair to call his arrogance "bureaucratic" because Honest John hates bureaucracy, as he has said so often in his attacks on President Roosevelt. Bricker's shyness about convening the state legislature ended suddenly in 1940; he called a special session to cut the state ballot loose from the national ballot so that John W. Bricker could be reelected more easily and would not be too directly affected by Roosevelt's popular appeal. It was a statesmanlike ruse—Bricker convinced the Ohio electorate that support of Roosevelt and support of him were perfectly consistent.

Bricker refused to set up a board, requested by labor, and on which labor would be represented, to consider changing Ohio legislation dealing with working women. The war required the change. The war has always been remote to Bricker.

WHAT really distinguishes Bricker, however, is his success as a budget balancer—like Alf Landon and most other Republican hacks about whom there is nothing noteworthy to say. Bricker became governor at the low point of the 1937-38 "recession." State revenues began to increase—through no fault of Bricker's—during his first year in office. He liquidated the $40,000,000 deficit inherited from Martin Davey, and began piling up a surplus. He refused to grant aid to communities needing help; when Cleveland unemployed starved, Bricker sent sympathy to the children suffering from malnutrition but not a cent for food. He allowed the Toledo schools to close for lack of funds. He held old-age pensions and relief expenditures to shamefully low rates. He resisted state aid for civilian defense. He clung to the sales tax despite the $100,000,000 hoard in the state treasury. He showed a passion for economy, even though his policies delayed the war effort, and undermined public health and morale. Bricker dug deep into the pockets of Ohio's little people and grabbed enough to merit a place as Republican vice-presidential nominee, a money-honest Harding with an apathy toward the war.

Throughout his long career, John Bricker made many a speech. By his epigrams shall he be known: "I am not a crusader," he asserted pridefully. "Local problems can always be best cared for locally," he thundered. "My job is to be governor. We've got a President and a State Department to handle foreign policy," he replied to a request for a statement supporting the war. "The people have a right to expect honesty from those who serve them," he declared without fear of contradiction. "I feel that the more people who call me John when passing me on the street, or coming into my office, the better job I am doing," he philosophized. "I promise to dismiss more than 4,500 government propaganda agents if elected President," he told an audience at Colorado Springs. "The New Deal took control of this country about the same time Hitler came into power," he recalled, charging that this fact seemed to brand the government at Washington as "fascist." He appealed to racism in Los Angeles by urging that "each community decide for itself whether it wants to take back the Japanese," meaning, of course, the second and third generation Japanese-Americans. "I differ with the whole philosophy of the New Deal," he stated in Washington, D. C., calling the present government a "despotism." He will never be guilty of "coddling selfish labor leaders for the sake of votes they can deliver in an election," said Bricker, whose favorite labor leader is John L. Lewis. "I am opposed to the federal housing program because it infringes on a job private industry can do," he asserted. As the New York *Daily News* summed up Bricker in a glowing profile: "He's a good man and not at all stupid."

BRICKER is handsome in an overstuffed way. The Bricker-for-President Committee eulogized his "white wavy hair, which is never cut too short." He takes great interest in his press pictures—and he has made a study of proper lighting to exploit to the full his lumbering dignity. He is blessed with a good wife who doesn't drink, smoke, or chew, who collects Stiegel glass. She can play the piano—"but I'm no musician." She goes further: "And I paint, but I'm not a painter." Campaign literature emphasizes that "she is still just 'Harriet'," and quotes Cissy Patterson's Washington *Times-Herald* to the effect that "she is the sort of woman who can wear orchids and not be obscured by the opulent flowers." The Brickers are simple, homespun folk, the kind with whom Robert Taft and Herbert Hoover feel comfortable, accustomed as those two gentlemen are to the unsophisticated nobility of the man of nature turned political stooge. Nor is John Bricker a prude for all his country-boy virility (a recent pose, but masterful); he indulges in a highball now and then; he smokes a pipe; he is especially fond of cherry salad with nuts; he prefers white shirts; he fishes, hunts, and even reads—though never in bed; and he has his picture taken with a good-sized dog. Moreover, the campaign committee sorrowfully confesses, "He is not the type to call for his slippers as he gets into the home."

John Bricker was born to be the Republican vice-presidential nominee. If this were not a war year, there would be something delightful about the patness of his selection. As it is, he symbolizes, along with the piercing-eyed, clean-cut, eagle-scout Dewey, the determination of the Republican nabobs to seize political power with candidates who will surely toe the line. Bricker is a cartoon politician, master of the well-worn phrase, specialist in bombast, expert in the use of the maximum number of words to express the minimum content. One can say of John W. Bricker, with apologies to Hamlet: Take him for all in all, so long as the Old Guard runs the Republican Party, we shall too often look upon his like again.

The man who is keeping Morris U. Schappes in prison on a trumped up charge is now candidate for the highest office of the land. Have you, as one of the people Gov. Thomas E. Dewey is seeking to represent, let him know (at Albany, N. Y.) what you think of this shameful neglect in issuing a pardon to a patriot no less valiant than those who are now fighting for freedom with bayonet and gun?

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GOP CONVENTION POSTSCRIPT

By A. B. MAGIL

THE dirt has begun to fly in the presidential campaign. And the source of the dirt is, I'm afraid, symptomatic. On July 5 the New York *Herald Tribune*, a newspaper which one had come to regard as a cut above the average in journalistic decency, published a front-page Washington story that President Roosevelt may deliver his speech accepting the Democratic nomination from overseas. The story was so worded as to give the impression that this report emanated from anonymous Democratic leaders, though a careful reading shows that it actually was attributed to "speculation."

Now Mr. Speculation is, of course, a very wise man and, as everyone knows, he is the confidant of those in whose hands rests the fate of nations. That very day Mr. Speculation was whisked up to Albany to a press conference with Governor Dewey. The governor, who by coincidence also happens to be the Republican candidate for President, was asked by a reporter what he thought of the propriety of the President's rumored plan—the word "overseas" in Mr. Speculation's original report having by this time been changed to "Normandy." And Governor Dewey replied with a clear voice: "I think the American people would understand perfectly well without my assistance, although I may find it desirable to comment if he [the President] does."

Lots of us had nourished the belief that the *Herald Tribune* was a different kind of Republican newspaper and that between it and Colonel McCormick's Chicago *Tribune* stretched a sizable gulf. In two weeks the gulf seems to have shrunk to a puddle.

The *Herald Tribune's* efforts to grin and bear it in the matter of the Republican platform and ticket reminds me of nothing so much as a man registering overwhelming joy at the news that his wife has just given birth to an imbecile. In little over a week this newspaper published three separate editorials sadly criticizing the platform and expressing the hope that Dewey would undo it all. Walter Lippmann entitled his column on the GOP platform, "Program for Chaos," which, curiously enough, is virtually the description given by NEW MASSES on its cover last week to what the Republicans are offering the voters—"One Way Ticket to Chaos." But Lippmann too, like the *Herald Tribune*, looks to Dewey for miracles.

More realistic, if more frankly cynical, is the attitude of the publisher of another win-the-war Republican newspaper which only yesterday was able to call its convictions its own. Eugene Meyer, publisher of the Washington *Post*, after visiting Dewey last week said: "After all, the platform is not so important as the candidate's interpretation of it, and I don't think Mr. Dewey ought to be put on the spot to answer that question now. A lot can happen between now and November and an opinion formed now might make a person look foolish later."

YET all is not well, despite the capitulation of the friends of Wendell Willkie and their studied efforts to radiate unity and confidence. A number of American conservatives are finding that both the Republican platform and ticket, which they had expected to be able to swallow in one gulp, are sticking uncomfortably in their craws. One of the planks that is most disturbing to business circles is that on foreign trade. At his press conference the day after the convention Governor Dewey denied that this was a high tariff plank and sought to gloss over its menacing implications by saying that the heart of it is "the sentence which reads that the United States will work with other countries to promote international trade." And he also laid claim to the Hull reciprocal trade agreements program as original Republican policy. But since the Governor had read the platform only once hastily on the plane to Chicago, perhaps he didn't know quite so much about the meaning of the foreign trade plank as the man who wrote most of it. On the third day of the convention Delegate Joseph R. Grundy of Pennsylvania issued a press release which for some strange reason failed to get into any of the newspapers which I saw. This is the same Grundy who has for years been the nation's leading tariff lobbyist and who, as US Senator, sponsored the notorious Grundy tariff of 1930, the highest in our history, which helped deepen the depression. The press release, after describing Grundy as "successful in his fight for inclusion of an 'adequate tariff' plank in the 1944 GOP platform," quoted him as follows:

"We hear much of free trade and international cooperation, and while certain aspects of this are to be accepted in line with civilization's desire to live together in harmony and peace, we cannot subscribe 'hook, line, and sinker' to any world league or open door trade scheme which, in effect, would react against American enterprise, dissipate our national resources and deprive us of our own hard-won economy."

That is just the opening paragraph of a statement that winds its way over three pages and bristles with such phrases as "low-cost foreign trade inimical to our own standard of living" and "federal government's . . . dabblings in reciprocal trade agreements." Let no reader think that this is just another of those old-fashioned controversies over the tariff. At issue is whether in the postwar period we shall pursue a policy that will promote expanded foreign markets and economic collaboration with our allies, which is impossible without lowering tariff walls, or a policy of using our economic might to dam up the channels of international trade and cut not only our allies' throats, but ultimately our own as well. The GOP-Grundy tariff program is the negation of the Teheran outlook; it is the economic counterpart of the political isolationism that helped precipitate the present war. The whole Republican platform is, in fact, a blueprint for a bigger postwar depression and World War III.

Nor can the Republican presidential candidate, that reluctant virgin of American politics, provide any reassurance to those conservatives who are seriously concerned about America's future. Take David Lawrence, for example. Lawrence, who writes a daily syndicated newspaper column and edits the weekly *United States News*, whooped it up for the GOP platform and candidates during the convention. But last week he gave vent to a few sober second thoughts. In a warm column on Wendell Willkie he wrote (New York *Sun*, July 5): "Wendell Willkie has a big job to do if he can forsake personal ambition and forget that there is a 1948 presidential contest ahead. If he does, he can call a spade a spade in this campaign so that the country can make up its mind truly whether it is being asked to vote for a straddler or a positive force, a follower of Gallup poll trends or a leader of public opinion." These obvious digs at Dewey reveal the uncertainty and distrust he arouses among discerning people of all classes. Lawrence does not follow his thought to the logical end. For if Wendell Willkie and those who see eye to eye with him are to play a constructive role and serve their country greatly in this critical testing time, they will have to cut themselves loose from Thomas E. Dewey and all he represents and, despite their differences with the President, support his re-election. Certainly, for those businessmen who want their system to prosper and be a positive factor in world affairs there is no other intelligent course.

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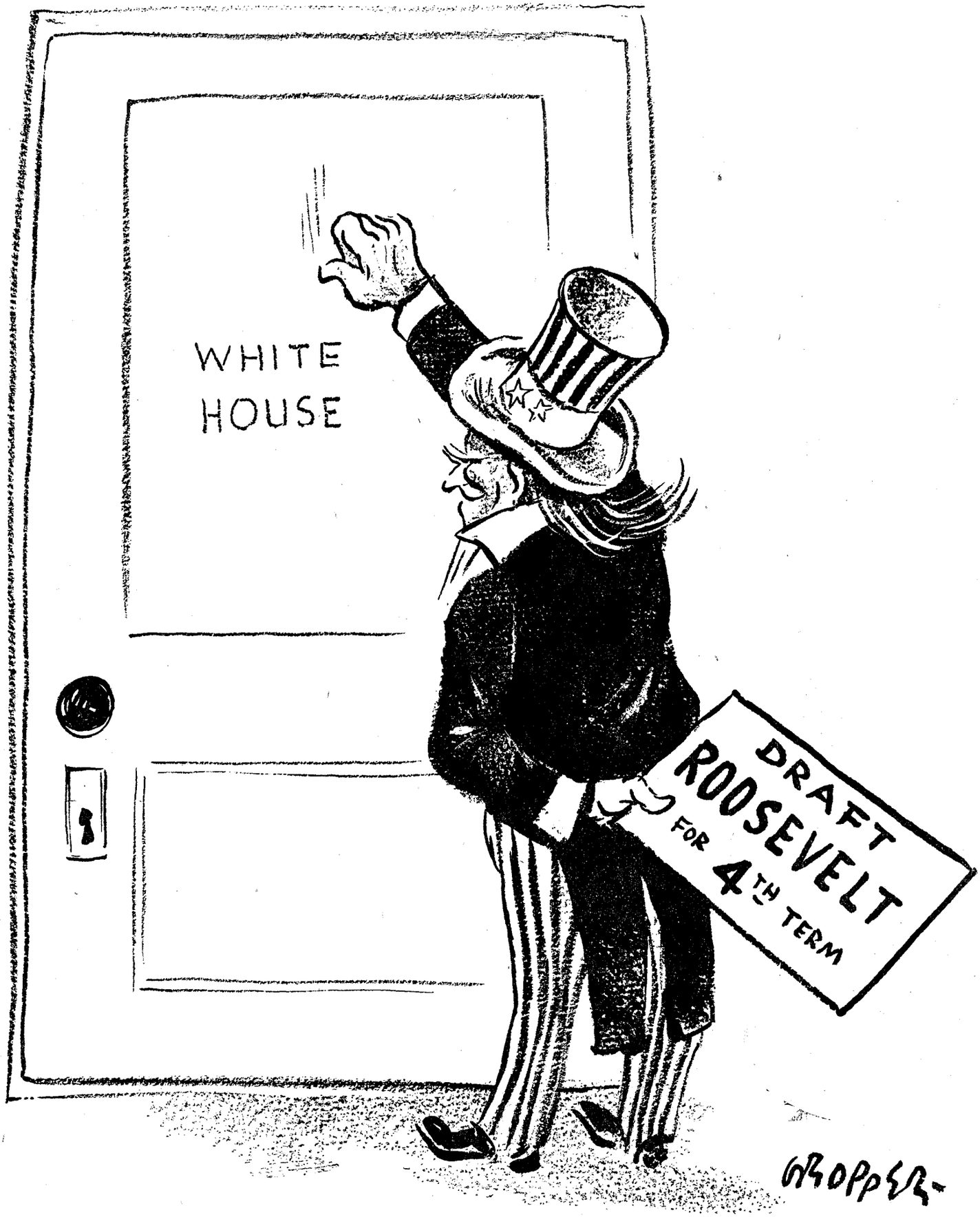

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FIGHTING FRANCE'S TRADITION

By RALPH HUNTER

JULY 14 marked the 154th anniversary of the rise of the French nation, born in the social upheaval of the French Revolution. Today the descendants of the Jacobins observe this great anniversary with arms, battling the fascists as did their forefathers who fought and routed the feudal invaders of Europe's allied kings.

The democratic revolutions of America and France opened the epoch of democracy and republican governments, marked by bitter struggles of the common man against monarchist tyranny. These two social transformations influenced each other just as they inspired and influenced progressive forces the world over. The American Revolution won its victories in a war against the greatest power in the world, Britain, and in the course of its battles received both encouragement and aid from abroad. The French Revolution occurred in the very heart of feudal Europe and was forced to struggle alone and unaided.

The French Revolution challenged and shattered the entire political and economic structure of feudal France and shook the precarious existence of the decaying feudal kingdoms on the whole continent. The French Revolution created swift and sweeping changes in all spheres of national life and France became, overnight, the most advanced democratic republic, with a new state, new social and economic system, a new political philosophy, a new army, national anthem, flag, and constitution. Such a swift and thorough transformation alarmed Europe's tyrants and they called upon their clergy, their orators, professors, and philosophers to villify this great rising of the people. And it was with this purpose that most histories of the French Revolution, such as Carlyle's, have been written. Virtually every history that deals with this great event refers to the republican stage of the revolution as the "Reign of Terror" and presents a blood-dripping picture of the Jacobin party and its great leaders. It is therefore more than profitable to examine the French Revolution in the light of its positive contribution to human progress.

FRANCE in the eighteenth century was governed by the absolute monarchy headed by the Bourbon king, Louis XVI. The monarchy was based upon the landed nobility which together with the church and crown owned all of France. The peasants were either serfs or tenants. An unfolding capitalist economy was hampered by high taxes, arbitrary regulations, and by the hopeless poverty of the people which drastically limited the home market. Despite these severe obstacles, the vigorous new economy grew and reared a class of wealthy bourgeoisie. The capitalist class raised two chief demands, *laissez faire* (leave us alone), and the right of representation in the government of France. The steadily deteriorating conditions of the people, the irrepressible growth of capitalist economy and the spread of the materialist philosophy of Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and others prepared the ground for the coming change, while the successful American Revolution imbued leaders with new determination to seek reforms from the king.

In 1789 the king finally agreed to grant a constitution in exchange for new taxes. It appeared that France was to set a civilized example for achieving self government without violence. The large bourgeoisie and the liberal nobility, represented by Lafayette, proceeded to draft the constitution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man. The king mustered 30,000 hired foreign troops to occupy Paris and disperse the Constitutional Assembly. In this critical moment the common people of Paris rose in arms and routed the mercenary troops, and on the next day, July 14, 1789, stormed the king's fortress prison, the Bastille, and leveled it to the ground.

The king and the nobility recognized the ominous portent of the fall of the Bastille as the end of the old regime. The Assembly, jubilant over this victory, procedeed with the drafting of the constitution, frequently consulting Thomas Jefferson, our ambassador to France at the time. The document was completed in 1791. It set up a constitutional monarchy far more representative than that of the British. The church and its vast properties were nationalized, all titles of nobility were abolished, and the old state apparatus reorganized. A truly progressive constitution, it placed the largest powers of the state in the hands of the bourgeoisie and generously shared it with the monarchy and its landlord class. The king promptly accepted the constitution. On the surface all was serene but below the surface a vast plot was unfolding to upset the entire new arrangement through foreign intervention. Actually the compromise constitution was a dead letter from the very beginning. Only the large capitalist class was satisfied. The nobility plotted counter-revolution. The peasants' ancient hunger for land was unsatisfied, while the laboring masses of Paris experienced unparalleled rises in prices of all necessities and demanded limits on prices of food and fuel, the very antithesis of the bourgeois doctrine of *laissez faire*.

IN THE spring of 1792 the storm broke loose. The armies of Austria and Prussia, accompanied by the vanguard of the French nobility, invaded France, demanding unconditional restoration of the monarchy. The entire new structure tottered. France was unprepared. The old royal army, still under aristocratic officers, fell back. Confusion reigned in the National Assembly. The Girondists, the party of the large bourgeoisie, were paralyzed between their loyalty to the king and the "good" nobles and the unreasoning fear of the people that they inherited from the monarchy. But this was a time of great crisis and the fate of the French Revolution hung in balance. Swift and decisive measures were needed as well as a clear distinction between enemies and friends. The Girondists proved impotent and were swept aside by the mighty upsurge of the revolution they initated.

As in the earlier crisis, resolved by the fall of the Bastille, the people of Paris moved forward again. Only this time they were organized in a people's militia under the leadership of the Commune (municipality) of Paris and the Jacobin party. In swift succession the king was deposed and arrested. Volunteers were raised to repel the invading armies. France was proclaimed a republic and a new democratic constitution drafted in '93. The Jacobins, representing the small producers (the petty bourgeoisie) rose to power. The National Convention replaced the Assembly. But while these measures were being taken the kingdoms of Europe formed a new and a mightier coalition to strike down republican France. Now the armies of Britain, Spain, Holland, and Sardinia joined the forces of Austria and Prussia. Revolutionary France was surrounded by a ring of steel. Except for the United States, formally neutral, not a single government in the world extended sympathy or aid.

The thoroughgoing and violent nature of the Jacobin stage of the revolution can only be understood in the light of this counter-revolutionary all-European war upon France. The execution of King Louis and some 15,000 aristocrats for treason during these years was an integral part of this war of survival. If these people met their end under the guillotine, it was because they played the role of what we today call a Fifth Column. The historian's charge of "anarchy" and "reign of terror" is a feeble effort to conceal wartime treason under a cloak of martyrdom. Never in all their history were the people of France so well organized, disciplined, and united as in the epic years of '92 and '93. Such

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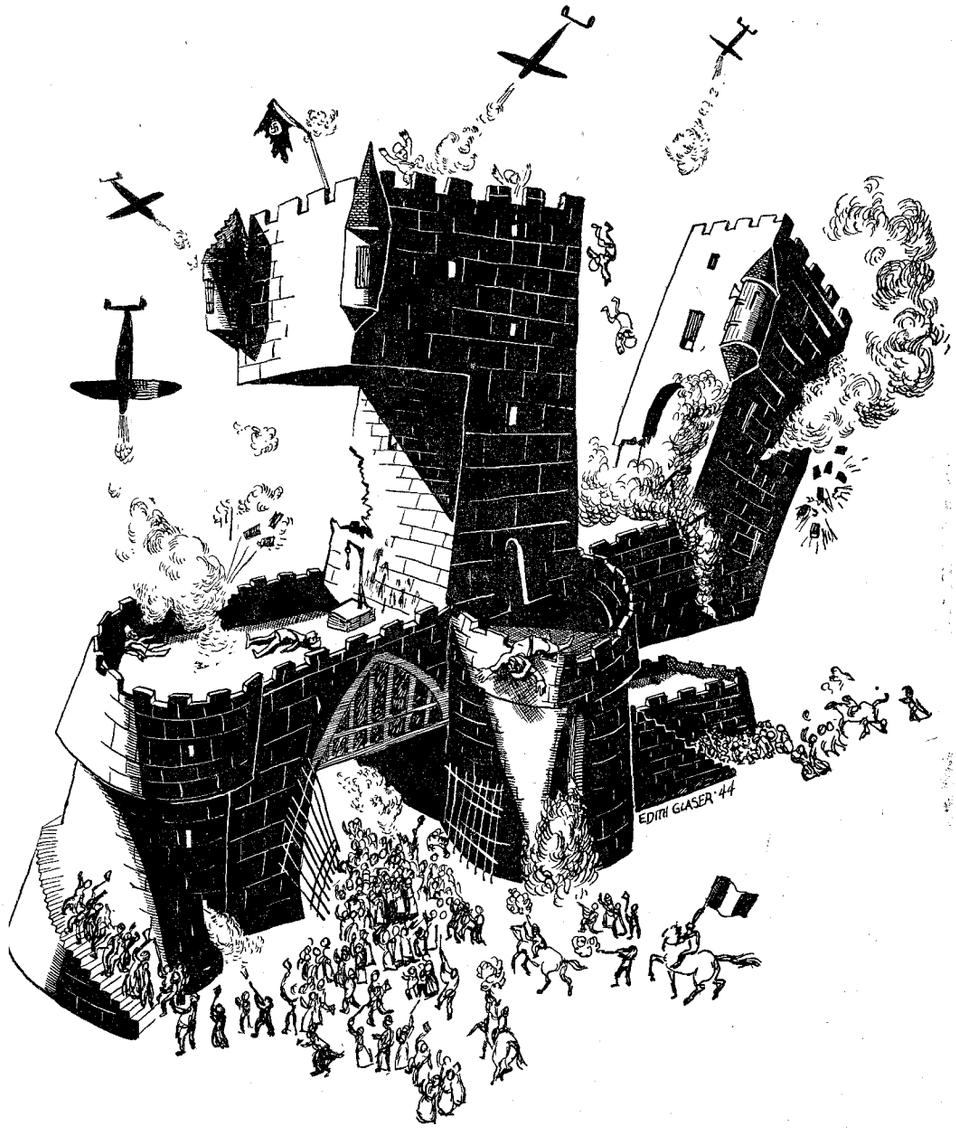
a vast war against enormous odds is not won by bloodthirsty, unorganized "mobs," waging indiscriminate terror upon innocent and helpless opponents. If the aristocrats and their defenders choose to call punishment for treason terror, then it can be said there was terror.

HISTORIANS also stress the "reign of terror" to conceal the truly magnificent achievements of the Jacobin party. For if they can be described as murderers it would follow that France was saved from its mortal danger despite their efforts and none would think them capable of constructive deeds. The Jacobin leaders—Danton, Robespierre, St. Just, Marat, and Hebert—possessed a deep faith in the common people of France. Their social and philosophical views flowed from the humanist teachings of Rousseau, Diderot, and the Encyclopedists. They saw the central enemy of the nation as the feudal economic system, its proponents and their institutions. The path to victory over the armies of the kings was the path of eradicating the economic foundation of feudalism in France. The two tasks, completion of the revolution and winning the war, were merged.

Universal manhood suffrage and universal military service enabled the revolution's leaders to raise eleven new armies of free citizens. All the landed estates of the church, crown, and nobility were confiscated and sold to the peasantry in order to finance the war, ease the food problem, and lift the peasant to the status of a property holder. The right to private property was guaranteed and maximum prices were placed on all commodities. Freedom of worship and free public education was a blow against the monopoly of the feudal church. Slavery was abolished in the colonies while the nation's traitors met swift and stern justice. The people of the nation became its citizens, rulers, and proprietors. These and similar measures united the nation and inspired the armies with the liberating spirit of a crusade against all tyranny, a spirit faithfully captured and preserved in that most remarkable of all national anthems, *La Marseillaise*.

The new armies of the republic easily defeated the larger professional armies of the allied kings. The military experts of that day were baffled at the performance, the striking power, and the unbelievable victories of the armies of democracy. The veterans of Washington's Continentals and militia, however, understood this amazing phenomenon as they recalled their own victories some fifteen years earlier.

In 1794, when the invading armies were defeated, the ties of national unity weakened and dissolved, making way for uncontrolled conflicts and rivalries among the anti-feudal classes. The Jacobin leaders, Robespierre, Danton, and St. Just, with the aid of the deputies representing the large bourgeoisie, executed Hebert, Chaumette, and other leaders of the Commune, representing the workingmen of Paris. The Jacobin party through this fatal error deprived itself of mass support in Paris. By this unjust attack upon their firmest allies they opened the floodgates of reaction that swept them from power within a few months. Danton was soon guillotined and the people of Paris disarmed. On June 27, 1794 (ninth of Thermidor according to the new Republican calendar), Robespierre, St. Just, and their circle of leaders were arrested and executed by the Girondist bourgeoisie. The tragic and untimely end of the Jacobin rule had come. The large bourgeoisie, who initiated and almost lost the revolution, now resumed power.



"Bastille, 1944," by Edith Glaser.

THIS brief and sanguinary conflict among the historically progressive classes of Republican France cannot be explained solely by economic rivalries among them. Normal class rivalries of a capitalist society were present but still in their infancy. The ancient fear of the people played a crucial role. Political immaturity and inexperience of the new classes, and the largely groundless fear and distrust of each other were important factors.

The Girondist bourgeoisie was permeated with deep contempt for the common people and hostility to democracy. This reactionary outlook contradicted the Declaration of the Rights of Man they issued in 1789. But a similar contradiction existed in America between the content of the Declaration of Independence and the anti-democratic policy of the Federalist bourgeoisie. The Girondists hated the entire Jacobin movement, partly because it swept them from power, but primarily because of its advanced democracy, the drastic wartime price and profit control measures which the Jacobins imposed, thus violating the sacrosanct principle of *laissez*

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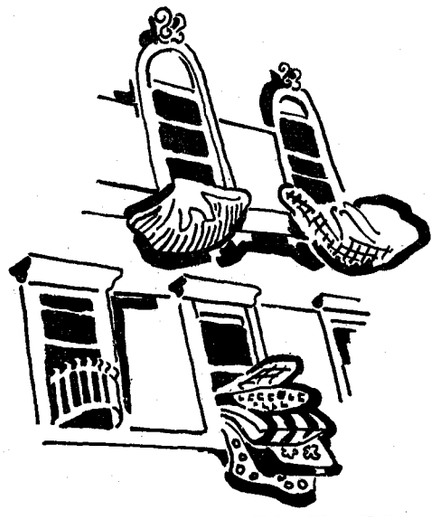
faire, and the execution of some of the Girondist leaders who were linked with the aristocratic plots.

The principal Jacobin leaders, Danton, Robespierre, and St. Just, were statesmen of great stature who included all the people within the scope of liberty, equality, and fraternity. This was primarily because these men placed national defense above their distrust of the propertyless laborers of Paris, but also because the workingmen controlled the powerful Commune of Paris with its armed militia, its vast influence among the Parisian people and in the army. Robespierre's later unjust attack upon his most dependable allies of the years '92 and '93 was due in part to his resentment at the great power of the Commune and his distrust of the propertyless working classes.

The laborers and artisans of Paris were the most powerful shock troops of the revolution and of democracy. Their leaders, Marat and Hebert, were tireless defenders of the interests of the propertyless and the poor population, and shared the honor with Danton and Robespierre of uprooting feudalism and winning the war. Hostility toward the Girondist bourgeoisie was particularly deep and bitter among the laborers, leading some observers to the conclusion that theirs was a socialist or at any rate an anti-capitalist movement. This, however, is not true. The Commune of Paris and its embryonic proletariat represented one of the most powerful driving forces of the anti-monarchist, anti-feudal revolution, and their flaming protests against poverty, low wages, high prices and unbridled exploitation were protests against abuses rather than against the essential nature of the new society they shed their blood to free and preserve.

THE Ninth of Thermidor was the triumph of bourgeois reaction over popular democracy. It was not counter-revolution in the sense that it did not restore the monarchy or feudalism. The Girondist bourgeoisie which rose to power was in all essential respects similar to our own Federalist bourgeoisie in power at the time under the administration of John Adams. The chief economic and political measures passed by the new regime are the best illustration of the issues involved in this tragic conflict of the classes freed by the revolution. All emergency wartime regulations including the maximum prices were abolished. The democratic constitution of 1793 was revoked and a new conservative constitution (1795) adopted, drastically reducing the democratic rights of the people. The Commune of Paris was broken up into twelve separate municipalities. The Jacobin clubs were disbanded. If the bourgeoisie was ungrateful and ungenerous to the common people for the salvation of the nation and the revolution, they also displayed no inclination to rehabilitate the landlord classes or share power with them as the original Girondist program provided. The Republic was maintained and power centered in the "Directorate" under exclusive leadership of the large bourgeois classes. But the Directorate proved too small and politically immature to govern France wisely, to heal the wounds of war and revolution and lead the liberated capitalist society to its next stage of development.

In 1799 the Directorate conceded its inability to rule France and, under a thin veil of compulsion, turned its powers over to Napoleon and the still powerful citizen army created by the Jacobins. Napoleon's military rule was not a new retrogression



Helen West Heller

nor a historically reactionary step, as many have been led to believe. The class content of Napoleon's regime consisted in preserving and consolidating the new capitalist economy and protecting the interests of the big bourgeoisie. Napoleon's rule successfully accomplished what the Directorate failed to achieve: internal peace and time to consolidate the new economic powers of capitalist society.

Napoleon's early wars likewise were progressive in the main. His powerful republican armies smashed the feudal kingdoms that tried earlier to strangle newborn France. He shattered their feudal system and their laws and institutions and released the national aspirations of the peoples in the countries of western Europe. In this early period, it will be recalled, he sold the territory of Louisiana to the new democratic administration of Jefferson.

BUT as time went on Napoleon succumbed to dreams of empire and world conquest. In the process of undermining feudalism he also deprived various countries of their independence and taxed them for the benefit of the bourgeoisie of France. In this stage of his career he also reflected the interests and aspiration of the forerunners of the 200 families of France as much as his own ambitions for power and glory. And when finally Napoleon was defeated by Britain and her battered allied kings, their victorious armies restored the Bourbon throne in France. But this monarchy could never again sink its roots in the liberated soil of France. The great labors of the Jacobins were lasting and irrevocable.

The restoration of the Bourbon monarchy was the long delayed counter-revolution. The delay was too long to move back the clock of history. But if the central economic achievements of the Jacobin revolution withstood all the battering of that turbulent generation, their democratic principles and ideals, ruthlessly attacked by the Girondists, continued to live and germinate in the hearts of the French people, who silently awaited the new opportunities which came in 1830, in 1848, 1871 and once again today. The road to democracy is long and bitter and replete with victories and defeats. But each battle and each gain brings the final victory nearer.

The French Revolution had profound repercussions in America. For at this time the battle for our democracy was maturing in the historic struggle between the Federalists and the Jeffersonians. One of the crucial issues was the attitude towards the French Revolution. The Federalists unreservedly condemned the revolution and publicly sympathized with Britain and the coalition armies seeking to crush it. Thomas Jefferson with all the democratic forces, including the overwhelming majority of the people, enthusiastically supported the revolution. Historians refer to this difference of opinion as one between those who were pro-British and pro-French. But the issue was democracy and national independence and, as Tom Paine put it, "what a nation chooses to do it has a right to do."

The American people saw their own revolution and democratic aspirations mirrored in the great struggles in France. They sensed that the fate of our small republic was at stake on the battlefields of France. A democratic French republic would be our natural ally in the world of predatory kingdoms and empires. Out of this unprecedented popular movement of support for French democracy there arose nationwide Democratic and Republican societies which became the foundation of Jefferson's party. The Federalists' fanatical opposition to the French Revolution was the international version of their uncompromising enmity to democracy at home, as expressed in their unconstitutional Alien and Sedition laws. The defeat of the Federalists and the triumph of Jeffersonian democracy was closely related to the victories of French democracy. And our Fourth of July and the French Fourteenth of July are thus the common birthday and the fountainhead of world freedom and progress.

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WHAT FREE POLAND WANTS

By M. MORAWSKI

Little is known in this country about the Polish National Council formed in Warsaw in January of this year. Yet its organization is one of the most important developments in Polish affairs. Recently a Council delegation arrived in Moscow for discussions with Polish army leaders, the Union of Polish Patriots, and to establish contact with the representatives of Allied countries. In view of the fact that the scene in Poland is rapidly changing, there is no doubt that the National Council will play a part in the creation of a democratic provisional authority to govern Poland during and after its liberation. Mr. Morawski is a member of the delegation now in Moscow and his article below was first published in a recent issue of "War and the Working Class."—The Editors.

THE National Council of Poland, *Krajowa Rada Narodowa*, was organized in the course of the grim struggle of the Polish people against the German invaders.

To understand why and how the Council came into being, we must trace the history of Poland's political life from the moment of the disaster which befell her in the autumn of 1939—into which the country was led by the then existing government of Beck and Smigly-Rydz who represented the so-called *Sanacja* camp.

It was a tremendous disaster in the life of the Polish people. During the first period after the defeat of Poland by the Hitlerite hordes, the people remained without any political guidance. They spontaneously fought the German invaders as much and as well as they could under those extremely hard conditions. All the political organizations in the country were smashed. When General Sikorski's Polish government-in-exile was formed in London, the masses of the people in Poland assumed a waiting attitude with regard to it. The people first wanted to see what role the government would play, what policy it would pursue and, in general, what would come of it.

Some of the measures taken by that government met with approval in Poland. That refers, for example, to the formation of the Polish army. The Polish people particularly approved and supported Sikorski's step in concluding the treaty with the Soviet Union. It should also be remembered that Sikorski had dissociated himself from the *Sanacja* regime before the war in Poland.

Prior to the defeat of France at the hands of the Hitlerite hordes, the *Sanacja* camp of Polish reaction lay low and kept out of the political arena. Utterly and irrevocably compromised in the eyes of the masses, it did not, however, intend to surrender its position. Since they did not dare come forward openly under their own colors, the representatives of the bankrupt clique sought to penetrate various organizations.

They seized on France's defeat as a convenient excuse for the attempt to whitewash Poland's pre-war government regime on the plea that it could not be held responsible for the misfortunes that had befallen Poland, since, as the example of France allegedly showed, "no one could withstand the Germans."

This clique primarily sought to penetrate the military organizations that had sprung up in Poland after her defeat—for instance, the so-called ZWZ or League of Armed Struggle. That organization of Polish soldiers was headed by the most reactionary elements of the Polish officers' corps, men who had been associated with the so-called "Two," the second (Intelligence) department of the general staff.

Ever since 1926 the Polish army had been in the hands of reactionaries who had done all they could to rid its ranks of their political opponents. Now they planned to capture the key positions and build up their own forces under a slogan creating a national military organization that would "remain aloof from politics." Their plan was to consolidate their positions in the ZWZ by planting their own men in it.

Differences of opinion existed between General Sikorski and the *Sanacja* camp from the very beginning. Sikorski did not trust the ZWZ. That explains why he unhesitatingly gave his consent to the formation of another military organization which became known as the *Momenda Obroncow Polski* or Poland's Defenders.

Apart from these organizations and independent of them, almost all the major political parties of Poland—such as the Peasant Party *(Stronnictwo Ludowe)*, the Workers Party of Polish Socialists, representing the left wing of the Polish Socialist Party (the PPS), and others—set up their own military organizations. These organizations waged a struggle against the German invaders by the means they had at their command. The principal method of struggle during that period was the organization of anti-Hitlerite sabotage.

Sikorski's policies, especially his foreign policy, met with serious opposition by the *Sanacja* camp and the reactionary officers. Sikorski's tragedy was that he could not make up his mind to rely on the support of the democratic circles of Poland. Yet only among them could he find the backing for his foreign policy. The elements whose support he sought were too narrow-minded to back him and to realize how vastly important it is for Poland's national interests to pursue the policy of friendship with her great eastern neighbor. The Polish reactionaries refused to see where the true interests of Poland lay.

Against Sikorski fought the National Democrats, the right wing of the Polish Socialist Party, the so-called WRN group (freedom, equality, and independence), and—such is the irony of fate—even that section of the Labor Party which he himself had created. The opposition which was directed mainly against Sikorski's foreign policy became ever more active. After signing the treaty with the Soviet Union, several ministers resigned from his cabinet—among them General Sosnkowski, the leader of the *Sanacja* camp, who later launched furious attacks against Sikorski and began to hatch designs in the ranks of the reactionary Polish emigres for a *coup d'etat*.

In Poland, Sikorski's government had its so-called representation in which four parties cooperated, the National Democrats, the Peasant Party, the Labor Party, and the Workers' Party of Polish Socialists. Those four parties were officially recognized by the Polish government in London and formed a bloc which served as that government's support in Poland. The representatives of those parties set up what was known as the Polish Coordination Committee.

The *Sanacja* camp gradually strengthened its positions in the various parties and groups. Its tactic was to isolate Sikorski and particularly to gain control over the abovementioned Polish Coordination Committee. As a result of a series of tricks and maneuvers, the set-up in that committee was changed. Persons who supported Sikorski were removed from it and replaced by representatives of the WRN group, the most rabid anti-Soviet party in Poland and the implacable enemy of Sikorski's foreign policy. The pressure on Sikorski became stronger, and gradually the Polish government-in-exile was driven along the path which led to its support of the Hitlerites' Katyn Forest provocation and the rupture of relations with the Soviet Union.

After Sikorski's death the reactionary circles intensified their activity both in Poland and among the emigres. Sosnkowski became the commander-in-chief of the Polish armed forces and set out to place his men wherever he could, both in Poland and in England. At the time when resistance of the Polish people to the Ger-

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man invaders was growing, the Polish government-in-exile in London pursued a ruinous policy of "passive waiting," a policy which did not in the least conform to the sentiments inside the country. Instead of calling upon the Polish people to fight the German invaders, it called upon them to "be patient and wait."

The *Sanacja* camp based its calculations on the theory that Russia would be bled white in the struggle against the Germans, so that after the defeat of the latter she would be powerless to take care of her interests. The Polish reactionaries frankly trained their forces not to fight the Germans, but to fight first for the internal struggle for power and for the restoration of the reactionary regime in Poland; and secondly, to fight against the Soviet Union whom they called "Enemy No. 1." They called upon the Polish masses "not to irritate" the Germans, and not to help the Red Army in its war against the Hitlerite hordes. They insisted that the defeat of the Germans would mean disaster for Europe.

Those calls and that policy were utterly at variance with the sentiments of the Polish people, who saw their salvation in the defeat of Hitlerite Germany, rejoiced in the Red Army's victories and eagerly waited for its arrival. On the other hand, the Polish people saw that it was just when they were passive that the Hitlerites inflicted on them the worst blows, whereas the Hitlerites were often forced to desist when they met with resistance.

Cut adrift from the masses of the people, who were waging guerrilla war and were actively resisting the German invaders, the Polish government-in-exile did not, in its impotent rage, shrink from starting a fratricidal war against its own people. After the Katyn Forest provocation, the Germans made it known to the leadership of the armed units set up by the Polish government-in-exile on Polish territory, the so-called *Armja Krajowa*, that they would not be averse to cooperating in the organization of detachments to fight the advancing Red Army. The *Armja Krajowa* was then headed by General Grot. He rejected those suggestions and immediately fell into the hands of the Germans and was flung into prison. General Bur, who replaced him, actually played into the hands of the Germans by forming special detachments to combat the Soviet and Polish guerrillas. That was a year and one-half ago. Thus the government-in-exile used its armed forces in Poland to fight together with the Hitlerites against the Polish guerrillas. It began to call upon the Polish people to fight not the Germans but the guerrillas, whom it described as "bandits."

The autumn of 1943 was marked by the most ferocious reprisals against the Polish population. The Germans arranged wholesale round-ups in the towns and villages, and made mass arrests. The Hitlerites murdered prisoners in jails, arrested people in the streets of Warsaw and other towns, and shot them summarily.

The masses of the people in Poland became deeply alarmed. They had every reason to fear that the Germans would deal with the Poles as they had dealt with the Jews. From all ends of the country, from towns and villages, from factories and mills, voices rose demanding the organization and leadership for the struggle of the popular masses against the Hitlerites. It was obvious to all that the Polish government in London, divorced from the country, was doing quite the opposite of what the people demanded and expected.

The wholesale murder of the Polish people and the ruinous policy of the Polish government in London gave rise to ferment in the military units formed by that government. Whole groups of officers and men came over to the side of the guerrillas. At the same time General Rola joined the ranks of the fighting patriots. It was then that negotiations were initiated between the various parties with a view to organizing a common political and military leadership, for as stated above, each party had its own armed detachments.

ON THE eve of the New Year of 1944, thirty representatives of the democratic parties of Poland met in strict secrecy in Warsaw. Among those parties were the opposition Peasant Party *(Stronnictwo Ludowe)* representing the majority of that party which withdrew its support from the Polish government in London, the Polish Workers Party, and the Workers Party of Polish Socialists. There were also representatives of the underground trade unions, democratic organizations of professionals, the League of Youth Struggle *(Walki Mlodych)*, groups of non-partisan democrats, scientific workers, cooperative workers, etc. Furthermore, there were representatives of underground military organizations of the People's Guard, peasant battalions and others, as well as representatives of some units of the *Armja Krajowa*. Camouflaged machine guns were held in readiness in the quarters where the meeting took place. The officers of the People's Guard were on hand to man the machine guns if necessary. The conference lasted from six in the evening until five the next morning.

The conference drew up the Constitution of the National Council of Poland. It adopted a social and political program and set up the united military leadership of all the armed forces of the Polish People's Army. General Rola was placed at the head of that Army.

The conference in Warsaw passed a resolution condemning the fratricidal war started at the orders of the Polish government-in-exile. The conference addressed, in the name of the Council, an appeal to the population not to carry out the instructions of the government-in-exile about the reprisals against the guerrillas, and warned that the future Polish government would bring to trial all those who took part in the struggle against the Polish guerrillas.

The conference addressed greetings to the three allied governments of Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union. Messages were sent announcing the formation of the National Council of Poland, stating that the Polish people were prepared to continue the struggle against the German invaders to the last drop of blood. The conference also addressed a request to the allied governments to help the fighters for the liberation of Poland with arms which the Polish people need for their struggle against the German barbarians.

The National Council of Poland announced that it recognizes the democratic constitution of 1921 as against the fascist constitution of 1935 which is the basis of the Polish government in London. The Council was born in the struggle of the Polish people against the German brigands. On the platform of this struggle against the Germans it united all the truly patriotic and democratic organizations of Poland.

The Central Council has its organs in provinces in the shape of provincial, town, country and rural councils. The men who have created this network of underground patriotic organizations work in strict secrecy. They must keep their identity concealed not only from the Germans but from agents of the Polish government-in-exile. The main and fundamental task of all organizations of the Council is to fight the German invaders.

The delegates of the Council have come to the Soviet Union to establish contact with the governments of the Allied countries that are fighting Hitlerite Germany, and with the Polish democratic organizations in emigration in the United States, England, the Soviet Union and other countries. They have also come to acquaint themselves with the Polish Army that has been formed on the territory of the Soviet Union.

We should like the people to know what a profound difference exists between the reactionary Polish-fascist clique and the Polish people. The Polish people desire friendship and the best of relations with their great neighbor. We feel deeply grateful to the Red Army which is relentlessly beating the German invaders, our age-old enemies, who threaten the very existence of Poland and the Polish people.

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HOT WEATHER MEMO

By POLITICUS

Washington.

A STUDY of final returns in the South Dakota primary race between Sen. Chan Gurney, win-the-war Republican, and his defeated opponent, Lieut. Gov. A. C. Miller, shows that Miller was first choice in precisely those counties where there is a high percentage of unassimilated German-Russian population. Miller campaigned against Gurney on the basis that he was too pro-New Deal. Whatever Gurney's voting record leaves to be desired on certain issues, he has left no doubt about how he stands on the war, from the lifting of the neutrality embargo and lend-lease to his personal sponsorship of the bill to draft eighteen-year-olds.

What are the German-Russian groups in South Dakota? A pamphlet, "Immigration Settlements," Bulletin 313 issued by the State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, tells about them. They are Germans who emigrated to the Ukraine and thence to the United States and are difficult of assimilation. A similar thing was found by the Soviet government in certain German groups who settled along the Volga river, and the Soviet government relocated them in the east when the Nazis invaded the USSR. The twenty counties which Miller carried included four in which the population of German-Russian origin compared to the whole was from twenty-five to 49.9 percent, and one in which it was over fifty percent. Three showed ten to 24.9 percent, and four showed the same percentage in German population. Two showed from five to 9.9 percent German population, and the same proportion of German-Russian. Miller's home county and his former home accounted for two more; one was from ten to 24.9 percent Norwegian. In several one hundred percent German-Russian townships Gurney did not get a single vote.

Reports are that while Miller did not openly play to capture this vote, it was whispered about that his name originally was Muller. But it was principally an anti-Gurney vote.

The Miller votes were in isolated, highly rural communities. In many of them the settlers had retained Mennonite and other customs which tended to keep them apart from the rest of the citizenry. A jokester's highway sign a mile outside the county seat of Hutchinson county, which stood unmolested for months last winter, read "One Mile to Berlin."

North Dakota likewise has strong elements of unassimilated German population which may account for the vote Sen. Gerald P. Nye, Republican negotiated peace advocate, rolled up in the recent primary.

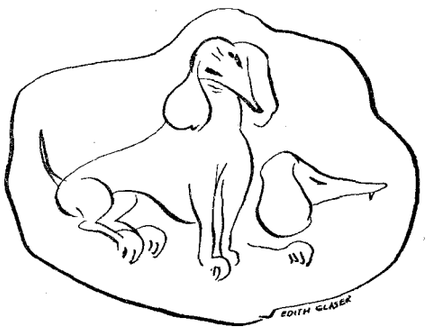
Gurney's position isn't all clear sailing as yet. His vote totaled 35,560 over Miller's 28,070, but since the primary a Townsendite, N. N. Gullekson, announced he would seek a place on the ballot as an independent candidate for Senator. His platform of fourteen points includes the Townsend pension plan, avoidance of "European entanglements" and nationalization of "important and essential" resources, as well as regulation of automobile speed limits at fifty miles an hour or less.

George M. Bradshaw, the Democrat, a newcomer to politics but assumed to be friendly to Dr. Win-the-War's policies, had no primary battle. It is just possible that Gullekson, the former manager of an old people's home in Sioux Falls, might figure that while he couldn't win, with the Germanic vote he might be able to beat Gurney. With 3,570 petition signatures he could file under the state election laws.

After all, it must not be lost sight of that this state was picked in 1942 by Col. Robert R. McCormick, the du Ponts and Pews, as a good investment. They contributed to the campaign funds which helped elect Sen. Harlan J. Bushfield, known in South Dakota as the Third Senator from Delaware.

As many another candidate retreated in his primary campaign, so Gurney suddenly became quite vocal in opposition to Roosevelt after he was attacked as a pro-New Dealer. But his campaign fright cannot conceal the fact that the primary results represented a victory over those forces in South Dakota which were used by McCormick, du Pont and the most reactionary wing of the Republican party to elect Bushfield earlier, and which still could be a threat in the election.

ONE of the mixed pleasures of Washington is the way in which you land on the oddest kinds of mailing lists. For months I was bombarded with literature singing the praises of Mikhailovich. Next I got reprints of editorials from La Follette's *Progressive* of Wisconsin, that publication so remarkably cool toward the war, some of the editorials having been inserted in the *Congressional Record*. All these and more, including an elaborate pamphlet defending a local band leader against the charge of draft-dodging, I have received—at my home residence.



The latest, and most surprising, was addressed to my office: the first issue of the *American Nationalist*, with a picture of George Washington in colors on its first page. This is the latest publication of Sen. Robert R. Reynolds, of North Carolina, who heads the pro-fascist American Nationalist Committee. He still gets out the *National Record*, a monthly, which supplanted the *American Vindicator* when the latter was under attack for its anti-Semitism. I suppose I am counted as a "subscriber," and I suppose Sen. W. Lee O'Daniel's 100,000 claimed subscribers receiving the first copy of his anti-Roosevelt paper contained many thousands just about as sympathetic. They must get these mailing lists out of phone books.

GOVERNMENT economists are studying all the postwar programs formulated by trade unions. One which is praised highly is that of the CIO Maritime Committee, representing seamen's, longshoremen's, shipbuilding, and communications unions. Its planks stress expansion and preclude restrictive measures. Typical is its proposal that an international shipping agreement should forbid any subsidization of a shipping line beyond actual costs, and should equalize wages to prevent one country's being able to underbid another by paying starvation wages to seamen.

NOTWITHSTANDING the general laxness of the press toward the significance of the Nazi plot trial in progress in Washington, orthodox newspaper men were shocked recently when, gathered about the National Press Club bar, they observed a colleague enter with his guest—Lawrence Dennis, whom the government calls the Alfred Rosenberg of the fascist movement here, or the brains of the twenty-nine on trial. Dennis' host was a member of the staff of *Newsweek*.

MARTIN DIES in deciding not to run again for Congress may be laying plans for starting a business of his own, a "service" to industry and business. "Of course that's only my idea; I don't know," said Ralph Moore, Texas rancher and lobbyist, who is Washington chairman of the hate-Roosevelt American National Democratic Committee. What Dies' "service" would be he declined to elaborate on —possibly a super-duper espionage agency?

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NO COLOR BARS FOR ENGLAND

The British people have taken the American Negro soldiers to their hearts. For the first time in history they have seen thousands of these men billeted in their towns. These letters from all parts of England show how these colored troops have been received. The letters appeared originally in the London "Daily Worker."

THERE have been big groups of Negro soldiers working around here at different times and they have greatly impressed the villagers by their exemplary conduct. The shopkeepers speak highly of their politeness and I have been told of the delightful way they fraternize with the local youngsters, sharing their gum and sitting together on the village green. They particularly impressed folk by the way they watched that the youngsters came to no grief from passing convoy traffic. Taking it all round, the villagers speak highly of the "Blackies"—not patronizingly either—and a firm friendship has been cemented.

In the big factories—particularly the one in which I work—there is no suggestion of any discrimination against or superiority towards the colored soldiers and any newspaper reports of color prejudice are received with indignation.

When any local authority has endeavored to introduce a color bar at dances, etc., this has usually resulted in a lowered attendance, and one instance is reported of a band refusing to play till the bar was lifted.

CLIF. SORRELL.

Writtle.

•

AN ELDERLY lady living in this district was asked to billet an American soldier. Much to her dismay, two Negro soldiers were sent. Never having met any Negroes before she was filled with apprehension. The first night she locked her bedroom door and spent the hours sleeplessly.

At seven o'clock there was a knock at the door. "Who's there?" she cried. "Just a cup of tea for you, ma'am," came the answer.

When the good lady came down later on they had tidied up the kitchen and made her breakfast for her. They are now the firmest of friends.

FRANK ALLAUN.

Manchester.

•

LIVERPOOL has always had a large colored population and until recently the color question has not been a problem. At one restaurant one man was recently refused service because of his color. When the management were questioned they said that "white Americans had said they would not patronize the restaurant if Negroes were served."

In one ballroom the management has imposed a ban on colored troops because Negro soldiers were involved in a fight. Several white American seamen signed a petition protesting against this ban. However, there are also many instances of real friendship and solidarity. Negro choirs have given recitals in many local churches and cathedrals. And invitations to visit the homes of the people are numerous. The Edge Lane branch of the National Union of Vehicle Builders has made contact with Negro soldiers, and efforts have been made through the trades council to extend this.

J. H. SAYLE.

Liverpool.

•

A NEWPORT CORPORATION bus was filled to overflowing. A white American soldier was standing, and a Negro soldier sitting below him. The white soldier demanded the seat from the colored one—and got it. Along came the girl conductor, saying: "Hey! you, out of it," and told the Negro to sit down again!

DICK WINSTONE.

Newport, Mon.

•

LAST week, Salute the Soldier week, a number of colored troops visited our mining village. They helped a great deal to make the week a success. Their decorum and versatility was striking.

There was a real feeling of friendship between the miners and the Americans. They were welcomed at the Tairgwaith Workmen's Club and at a dance. I have yet to hear of any discrimination against these fellow-fighters.

MORGAN JONES.

Gwaun Car Gurwen.

•

I REMEMBER a week-end in a Gloucester valley where we all gathered in the village pub—miners, farm workers, engineers and our Negro friends from a nearby camp. We all sang community songs, "Swanee River," and so on, and our friends gave us a solo turn.

J. BROOKS.

Gloucester.

•

BLACK and white soldiers here, generally speaking, appear to get on very well together. Often they can be seen going around in a car together, and I have also noticed both black and white at some of our meetings and also at concerts. But quite a few pubs have been closed to soldiers because of the fights which are said to have taken place in them.

All the girls I know who have talked and walked with the colored soldiers say how polite and well-mannered they are. They have a smile for everyone.

J. LATHBURY.

Nuneaton.

•

WHEN a few local men treated a black man in a pub, the white Americans there left their glasses on the counter and walked out. The local townspeople and nearly all the English soldiers make the Negroes welcome. One Negro said: "You people recognize that we are human beings."

RAYMOND HACKMAN.

Bridgewater.

•

WHILE no colonial troops have been stationed in this vicinity there are some Negro soldiers with the Canadians. They are in no cases segregated into separate units, and there is no sign of any racial discrimination.

As one Canadian soldier said to me: "We have several Negro NCO's in my outfit, and certainly none of our lads has any objection to this, as long as the NCO knows his job. We mix in the job and in our leisure hours, in fact anyone who attempted to raise a 'Color Bar' would be told off in no uncertain manner."

J. CRANE.

•

I AM proud that I've not found one case of discrimination against the Negroes here. They are well behaved and interfere with no one. One publican told me: "They come in here, rather shy, have a couple of beers, and go off. Sometimes the locals give them a game of darts."

D. O'HARA.

Isleworth, Middlesex.

•

I HAVE had a number of conversations with American colored troops in this town. One of them said to me: "What I want to see is a real struggle to overcome this question, which threatens to render this war quite useless in relation to the great aims for which we are said to be fighting. I want to see some organization really trying to reach a solution."

I found this man, a full-blooded Negro, very well informed, and especially interested in the matter of the Polish Jews in the Polish Army in Britain. He drew a parallel with the problems facing the colored American people.

M. CORNFORTH.

Ipswich.

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NM SPOTLIGHT

The Democratic Convention

THE Democratic convention opens in Chicago on Wednesday, July 19. Like the Republican convention it will last three days. Like the Republican convention it will nominate candidates for President and Vice President and adopt a platform. But there the resemblance ends. The principal difference—and the decisive one—is in the political outlook of those who will direct the convention and play the leading role in hammering out the platform and selecting the candidates. At the GOP gathering last month, for all the synthetic accent on youth, it was the Old Guard represented by men like Senators Taft and Vandenberg who were in control—an Old Guard wedded to reaction and with an approach to the war and peace essentially that of the pre-war appeasers, whatever verbal concessions are made to public opinion. Both platform and candidates mirror the minds of these men.

At the Democratic convention, on the other hand, it will be the forward-looking win-the-war forces, the supporters of President Roosevelt, that will be at the helm. This is already impressively manifest in the character of the twenty-three member subcommittee on resolutions and platform. It is headed by Rep. John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, who will also head the permanent resolutions committee. Rep. McCormack is no New Deal Galahad, but his record on foreign policy and on most domestic questions requires no apology, as does that of Senator Taft, his counterpart at the GOP convention. The rest of the Democratic subcommittee is, as a Washington dispatch in the New York *Times* put it, "weighted heavily with members of Congress who have vigorously supported the Roosevelt administration's program." Among them are such men as Senators Wagner of New York, Pepper of Florida, and Green of Rhode Island.

Moreover, the Democratic convention will carry out what we believe to be the mandate of the majority of our nation when it drafts President Roosevelt for a fourth term. The Roosevelt draft is not the product of adroit manipulations and supersalesmanship, as in the case of Governor Dewey, but of a people's movement that has embraced the whole of the CIO and large sections of the AFL, as well as civic, fraternal, and Negro groups throughout the country.

It is in regard to the choice of a vice presidential candidate that serious controversy is likely to develop. A minority of reactionary Democrats, largely from the poll tax states, initiators of the electoral college conspiracy by which they hope to prevent FDR's reelection, are concentrating on blocking the nomination of Vice President Wallace. Mr. Wallace is reputed to be the President's choice. The fact is he is also the choice of the rank and file. A Gallup poll of Democratic voters in March showed that forty-six percent favored Mr. Wallace for Vice President. His closest competitor, Secretary of State Hull, who is not a candidate, received twenty-one percent, and four others were far down the list.

Mr. Wallace is by far the most distinguished Vice President this country has had since Theodore Roosevelt. His latest speech on his return from a trip to Soviet Siberia and China once more indicates his stature. His nomination would strengthen the fight for the reelection of Roosevelt. And it would provide for millions in our country and in other lands a guarantee that no mishap that might occur during the next four years would break the continuity of those policies that have shaped the historic Moscow-Cairo-Teheran accords.

Hitler, Tojo Applaud

"WHITE supremacy" officials in Georgia and Mississippi made a travesty of Independence Day when they refused to permit Negro Americans to vote in the primaries. They joined the inglorious ranks of Alabama and Florida in flouting the Constitution and in disregarding the historic decision of the Supreme Court in the Texas primary case last April 3. Such actions make decent Americans even in normal times rise in anger. Today such policies, which warm the hearts of Hitler and Tojo and encourage the treachery of our native fascists, cannot be permitted to go unchallenged.

At least 10,000 Negroes registered to vote in the Georgia primaries. Rather than attempt mass pressure against the state's racists the leadership of the Georgia Association of Citizens' Democratic Clubs decided in favor of a token vote. The expected happened. As each Negro leader appeared at the polls, he was informed that his name did not appear on the registration lists and that he could not vote. The Georgia Association thereupon obtained affidavits, which are being forwarded to the Attorney General for action. At the same time the cases will be fought in the state courts, appealing them if necessary to the highest court of the land. It is significant that large numbers of white citizens throughout the South expressed support of these efforts to uphold the Constitution.

The Department of Justice under Attorney-General Biddle has been characteristically apathetic regarding the whole matter. Affidavits were submitted a number of weeks ago by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the case of the Alabama and Florida primaries, but Mr. Biddle has yet to do something to enforce the statutes as interpreted in the April 3 Supreme Court decision. It is the duty of the government to declare these "white primaries" invalid and to order new primary elections based upon the law. We are faced not merely with an outrageous conspiracy against the country and its Negro minority but with a dangerous attack on the war effort. The issue must not be lost by default.

Revolt Against Lewis

JOHN L. LEWIS, thwarted in his efforts to establish a base of operations in the AFL, now faces revolt within the United Mine Workers, which he has come to regard as his private empire. Starting with a demand for autonomy in District 12 (Illinois), the revolt has spread to other districts and has widened its objectives to include the overthrow of the Lewis dictatorship itself. On July 2 ninety delegates from fourteen UMW districts attended in Cincinnati the Midwest and Eastern Conference on Autonomy and Self-government. In these districts, as well as in seven others, Lewis appoints all the officers and thereby controls their 287 votes in the union's executive board. This is a principal method he has used to hold the international under his sway, for the uncontrolled or autonomous districts, ten in number, cast only seventy-two votes.

The anti-Lewis miners demand that autonomy and the right to elect their own officers be restored to the provisional districts, and declare they will carry the fight to the United Mine Workers convention opening September 12. Ray Edmundson, who resigned as appointed Illinois district president to fight against the Lewis dictatorship, is the leader of the revolt. He has also announced his candidacy for UMW president in opposition to Lewis in the December referendum election.

It is significant that one of the resolutions passed at the Cincinnati conference declared the struggle against Lewis would

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not be allowed to interfere with coal production. The rank and file miners thereby expressed their loyalty to the war effort and dissociated themselves from the Lewis tactic of calling adventurist strikes which sabotage the war and delay the granting of the workers' just demands. The anti-Lewis movement has vast potentialities; it reveals the growing isolation of the UMW fuehrer among his own membership at the very time when his man Friday, K. C. Adams, has scored such successes in the writing of the reactionary labor plank of the Republican platform.

Quotas and Gold Standards

IN THE torrid weather such as the East Coast has been having we can think of a dozen easier jobs than following the technical releases from the Bretton Woods monetary conference. But if the conference fails to establish a stabilization fund and a world reconstruction bank the present sultriness will be like a fresh spring breeze compared to the scorching world political atmosphere that will ensue. The meeting from any sensible point of view is of strategic importance in building a workable international economic apparatus to help the United Nations grapple with the host of trade and financial problems that are already at their doorsteps. And while the mysterious jargon of "quotas," "gold standards," and "currency exchange" is not within the average man's vocabulary, he does know that what is taking place at Bretton Woods will in some measure determine the size of his pay envelope after the war and whether he has a job. All of this, he also surmises, involves matters of credit, foreign trade, and industrialization of the underdeveloped areas of the world—in fact, the rocks that make the economic foundation of the political security envisaged at Teheran.

Part of this job must be done at Bretton Woods and all forward-looking people are eager to see the conference end successfully. There are, however, several groups here in the United States who hope that the discussions meet with speedy collapse. They are a mixed company, some of whom don't mind cordial relations with our friends abroad provided Washington has nothing to do with them and provided they can dictate the terms. The other members of this gilded company are isolationists in both the political and economic sense. The New York *Times* and the financial fraternity for whom it speaks are in the first category, while the McCormick-Patterson newspapers, voicing the opinions of the most voracious imperialist brethren, are in the second. Whatever differences there are among them, in the end they both pull the lanyard of the gun firing at Bretton Woods. According to them stabilized currency and a reconstruction bank are nefarious schemes to rob us of our gold reserves and to make Uncle Sam the fall boy for the rest of the world. Colonel McCormick, of course, adds his own special touch in claiming that all this is a dire plot on the part of the British to gain financial domination over the globe.

Naturally they use their newspapers to spread the impression that the monetary conference is so replete with conflicting views that the whole affair is nothing but a grand waste of time. To be sure, when the representatives of over forty countries get together there are a good many things that need ironing out. Harmony is in fact the reward of a compromise of differences and if the delegates saw eye to eye in the first place there would be no need for joint discussions. But what the brilliant financial experts of the New York *Times* and the Chicago *Tribune* dislike is that such meetings take place at all, because who knows but that a basic agreement will be reached in which their selfish interests will be considered much less important than an orderly world of progress and prosperity.

De Gaulle's Welcome

THE warm hospitality extended General De Gaulle and his entourage is without doubt indicative of the changing atmosphere in American-French relations. While formal recognition has not been accorded the provisional government, the friendly welcome shown the visitor from Algiers has all the tokens of a *de facto* acknowledgment that De Gaulle is finally considered in Washington as the chief representative of the French people. As yet no public announcement has been made of the nature of his talks with the President and other officials, but the obvious conclusion is that a fuller understanding has been reached on a number of matters concerning French civil administration in liberated territory. Whether longer-range problems were threshed out time alone will tell. The key point to remember, however, is that the cordiality of De Gaulle's reception as well as the General's willingness to refrain from demanding immediate recognition have cleared the air of unnecessary recrimination and created a growing spirit of friendship which augurs well for future negotiations between Washington and Algiers.

Of course, it is not alone De Gaulle's arrival here that has altered the sad wrangling which beclouded Washington's attitude toward the provisional government. Equal if not decisive in its effects has been the heroic work of the French underground and its acceptance as an indivisible part of Allied forces in France. On the day that General De Gaulle stepped from his plane in the capital, Allied Supreme Headquarters made it known that the French Forces of the Interior, headed by General Koening acting under Eisenhower, had cleared five areas of the Germans. The Nazis have also been compelled to use tanks, artillery, and aircraft against the redoubtable Maquis who are responsible for the Wehrmacht's failure to shift troops and supplies rapidly to the Norman sector over the Rhone valley transport system. The whole story of these remarkable operations is not yet known but the fragments that have filtered through prove how infinitely more difficult would have been General Eisenhower's task on the Cotentin peninsula if the Interior Forces had not helped to pave the way. All this has helped weld collaboration with the French on a diplomatic level and furnished that collaboration with a more mature and enduring approach.

Closing In

IT HAS been no secret that one of the most perplexing aspects of our dealings with the Axis government of Argentina ever since the coup of June 1943, has been the apparent support which that regime has received from Great Britain. This was not surprising, for British trading and investment interests throughout Latin America and particularly in Argentina traditionally were associated with the reactionary, feudal elements. American enterprise, in contrast, has been geared to the more modern, progressive capitalist circles who are leading the industrial revolution in the southern part of the hemisphere. The conflict between American and British economic interests is historical and has led, naturally, to serious differences of opinion and policy on political questions. During the war this conflict of interest has had potential dangers to our alliance. It has been skillfully exploited by the fascist clique in Buenos Aires.

For this reason news that Great Britain has recalled its ambassador to Argentina at the same time that our State Department undertook a similar move, our two governments being in close consultation over the threat of Argentine fascism, is most welcome. Fascism, whether in Germany or Argentina, brooks no alliance with democratic capitalism. Those reactionary economic interests in England that sought to appease Latin American fascism as they had appeased German fascism became involved in the same tragic contradictions

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which led up to Munich. British as well as American firms and individuals are being discriminated against and illegally expropriated. There can be no profit, in any sense of the word, in dealing with fascists.

One of the main obstacles to exerting pressure against the Farrell-Peron clique—the latter's ability to play upon the Anglo-American conflict—seems to be well on its way to being removed. Under these encouraging circumstances we may look forward to the development of a more vigor- and effective policy on the part of all democratic states to isolate and defeat the Argentine minority in power which is so openly friendly to Hitler and his accomplice Franco.

Salud!

EIGHT years ago this July 18, Hitler and Mussolini marched on Republican Spain. Who can forget those days of agony and torment, those first months that melted into years when Spain alone and unaided withstood the fascists? Who can forget the valiant, rich voice of Pasionaria, warning the world that if Spain were slaughtered peace everywhere would be murdered along with it? Who can forget the defense of Madrid and the International Brigade? Who can ever forget the American boys who lie buried in the olive groves? Can we ever repay the Spanish people who taught us courage—and that peace and security are indeed indivisible?

Spain was the omen of what was to come in Europe, for the war we fight now began there. Every man who died defending Barcelona, in crossing the Ebro, in Belchite, in the hundreds of little towns from the Pyrenees to the tip of the peninsula—all of them were the pioneers of the armies that now throw their fire against the Wehrmacht. And from these men and women and their children and from their battles for independence have come the strength and inspiration for Europe's millions to fight back, to resist. The Yugoslav partisans learned from Spain, and the French guerrillas include many a man who mastered ambush and attack from Spanish comrades. The warfare continues in Spain despite the kind words spoken to Franco from London. In Santander and Asturias, in Galicia and Andalusia, the partisans fight while the people of the countryside hide them, work with them, and feed them. The underground sets the torch to crops destined for the Nazis, blasts plants and munitions depots, and derails trains. Nor are these sporadic acts of sabotage. They are planned and coordinated by the Junta de Union Nacional—focus of all anti-Franco forces within Spain.

Spain lost a battle but not the war. When an American flier bombs Berlin, Madrid lives again. When a British soldier strikes down a Nazi in Normandy he avenges the Spanish Republican struck down in Catalonia. When a Red Army man enters Minsk, Spain takes heart and courage. To our Spanish friends and allies—Salud!

The World Moves

IT's not merely a hot-weather cliche to note that times have changed. Last week State Senator Frederic R. Coudert, Jr., made a speech to the New York County convention of the American Legion, which was broadcast over WMCA—but not in its entirety. An astute censor had cut approximately one and three-quarter pages; Nathan Straus, president of WMCA, subsequently made the statement that the speech "contained aspersions on our allies and other material calculated to spread disunity at home."

A come-down for Mr. Coudert, no doubt, after the Red-baiting of his famous committee a few years ago—an "investigating body" which hauled sincere and capable teachers into the courtroom, on the charge of being subversive. Then, maybe, the aspiring US Senator could have delivered his speech, aspersions and all. But not now. Times have changed.

Not to be outdone on the streamlining, that trusty old tome of conservatism, *Who's Who*, brought itself up to date a few days ago, after all these years. Among several thousand new entries and biographical sketches is that of Earl Browder, president of the Communist Political Association. This wouldn't have happened several years ago, either. Mr. Coudert, an old inhabitant, probably doesn't like being separated from Mr. Browder by one alphabetical notch and several vowels. But there he is—times have changed.

FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

TOWARD EAST PRUSSIA

AS ALLIED forces took Caen and La Haye, the Germans were reported burning the great port of Leghorn in Italy before retiring to their "Gothic Line" above Florence. On the Eastern Front the German center in Byelorussia has crumbled and Soviet troops were racing past tottering Vilno to Kovno and toward the border of East Prussia. Other Soviet troops were crashing into the Neman-Narev gap along the Baranovichy-Volkovysk-Belostok line. Still others captured the great junction of Kovel and threatened Brest-Litovsk from the southeast. Still others were reported to have forced a crossing of the formidable Vuoksen (Vuoksi) water barrier on the Karelian Isthmus and General Meretskov and Marshal Govorov pressed for a junction north of Lake Ladoga before the final blow against German-controlled Finland. In the south Marshals Zhukov and Konev and Generals Malinovsky and Tolbukhin were obviously poised for action.

In the Pacific our troops have completed the conquest of Saipan and our task forces plastered the enemy bases and positions in the Marianas, Volcanos, and Bonins. Down south General MacArthur now has an air strip only 800 miles from the Philippines. In Burma Allied and Chinese troops are a few score miles from a junction near Myitkyina. In Hunan the Chinese reported a signal victory over the Japanese who have had to abandon their campaign for a junction with their troops in Canton along the Hankow-Canton railroad and are now retreating northward. Our B-29 Superforts gave Japan its second treatment and bombarded the naval base at Sasebo and the steel works at Yawata.

This was the general military picture last week. This is how it looks to us. Let us see how it must look to the men of Berlin and Tokyo. What can they hope for?

It is the rising sun that silhouettes the greatest terror for both Berlin and Tokyo. Outlined against the dawn of this July morning Berlin sees Vilna, Lida, Baranovichy, and Kovel in Soviet hands. In two weeks the Red Army has advanced an average of 150 miles on a 300-mile front. It has toppled fourteen major fortresses in its sweep, has killed or captured more than a quarter of a million crack German troops and captured fourteen generals, of whom three are corps commanders. On July 9 the Red Army was ninety miles from East Prussia. It has outflanked the Dvina line, is rushing into the Neman-Narev gap leading via Belostok to East Prussia, and has "seeped" through the Pripet Marshes to flank the Luninetz-Pinsk-Brest-Litovsk switch-position.

The experience of the last eight months has taught the German General Staff that

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the Dnieper, Desna, Bug, Dniester, Prut, Berezina, Pripet, and Neman Rivers could not hold the Red Army. Neither could it be held by the "breastplate" of the "Vaterland Line" between Polotsk and Bobruisk. What hope is there then in the Bug, Narev, Vistula, or even the Warte and Oder? What are these rivers in comparison with the Dnieper? What trust can one put in Dvinsk, Kovno, Grodno, Belostok and Brest-Litovsk when such giants of long-term, modern fortification as Polotsk, Vitebsk, Orsha, Moghilev, Bobruisk, Minsk, Borisov, Molodechno, Baranovichy toppled in a matter of a few days, and some even in a few hours?

German occupied areas collapse like a house of cards because, among other things, they are honeycombed by guerrilla controlled regions, like the big triangular piece of territory between Minsk, Lepel, and Polotsk. The confusion of the German Eastern Command is such that often troops retreat in the wrong direction. Whole regiments surrender. In the woods southeast of Minsk three army corps have been surrounded and are living their last hours. Large groups of German officers headed by generals have been found alone, without soldiers, which seems to indicate that they had good reasons to part company with their men. Mutiny must have been right around the corner.

For the last two weeks a German has died or has been captured on the Eastern Front every three and one-half seconds. A battalion per hour was lost. About two divisions per day. Soviet columns knife through the German formations and do not stop to mop them up because the Red Army is moving in several strategic echelons. While Rokossovsky and Chernyakhovsky race on toward Vilna and Kovno, Volkovysk and Belostok, Zakharov squeezes the life out of the surrounded 12th and 27th Army Corps and the 39th Tank Corps in the forest southeast of Minsk—one hundred miles behind the actual fighting line. By July 8, 28,000 Germans had died and 15,000 had surrendered in this pocket.

Neither can the German commanders bank on the lengthening Soviet lines of communications to stop or slow the pursuit, because they have been outgeneraled by the Soviet commanders: Rokossovsky in the Pripet Marshes stands on their flank and can take up the pursuit as the enemy rushes past him on the road to Warsaw. Soviet vanguards west of Baranovichy are 120 miles from Brest-Litovsk, but Rokossovsky right north of Kovel is only forty miles from Brest-Litovsk.

The Germans see that their Baltic group (General Lindemann with the 18th and 16th army groups, probably some two-score divisions) is in dire danger of being cut off, with only the secondary lines running through the bottlenecks of Kovno and Shavly to Insterburg and Koenigsberg left open (and the Red Army is only forty-five miles from Kovno). These army groups will have to try to escape from the Baltic areas by sea. And the Moscow radio has warned the Baltic Fleet to be ready to sink them. With the collapse of the Baltic front, Finland must collapse, and with it Norway. Thus Chernyakhovsky and Bagramian in fact are forcing the Germans back from the North Cape to the Kiel Canal, aside from smashing in their center.

This is what the German High Command sees silhouetted against the rising July sun.

A glance to the south shows the Germans that their "Gothic Line" is about to be attacked, with the port of Leghorn within the grasp of General Alexander, resulting in the shortening of the Allied supply lines in Italy by some 150 miles. Three German lines in Italy have fallen. What hope is there that the "Gothic Line" will hold? Here delaying action by the Germans is their only hope; delaying the junction of General Alexander with Marshal Tito in the region of Venice; delaying the junction of Alexander with the French Maquis in the Maritime Alps.

To the west things do not look good for the Germans either. The Allies have withstood the somewhat uncoordinated German counterblows aimed at the entire bridgehead in Normandy. British and American forces have worn down Rommel's (reported) 1,500 tanks and now have captured Caen and La Haye. This is not yet the beginning of the march on Paris, but it does mark the approach of the end of the second phase of the invasion. Here the only hope of the Germans is that the Allies will continue to be somewhat overcautious and will continue to wage war by safe stages. Caen is 600 air-miles from Berlin. Kovel is 500 air-miles from Berlin.

The British and Americans have been capturing about forty square miles a day. The Russians have been capturing three thousand square miles a day. Thus it is clear that the greatest danger for the Germans lies in the East. Robots won't work there. Robots have not worked even under the most advantageous conditions in London. A terror weapon either crushes the enemy or heaps an overwhelming load of hatred on the perpetrator. The latter is the case in England. The robots have done great damage there; they will do more damage to the Germans when the reckoning comes.

The Germans have few reserves. The month of June has cost them close to half a million men on all fronts. So what can they do? They can hold on bitterly to every foot of ground in the west, hoping that Montgomery will continue to be very careful. They can do the same in Italy. In the East they can pull out as quickly as possible to the Vistula-Carpathians-Lower Danube defense line, hoping against hope that it will hold. This means abandoning the Baltic and East Prussia, and probably Finland and Norway, too. The Germans, if they are able to, can retreat into the inner shell of Fortress Europe, get rid of the guerrilla menace by pulling out of the guerrilla regions, shorten their lines of communication. And then what? Then—wait for election day in November, hoping against hope that a certain Thomas E. Dewey will win, that America under his leadership will consider any international force for order a "disembodied spirit," that cooperation between the Allies will collapse and that Germany will be able to win the peace. There is no military solution for the German General Staff in the present situation. It's either Dewey or nothing at all.

The Japanese, looking toward the rising sun, see the American flag fluttering over Saipan. All their bases between the Bonins and the western tip of New Guinea are in dire danger. Their position in Burma is getting worse every day. And now the Chinese have pulled a fast one and have thrown the Japanese back from Hengyang, messing up their great summer campaign. An aerial "vault," still pretty sparse, but taking on "body," is closing over the Japanese Empire in the form of our B-29's.

The fact that the Japanese attempted their great campaign in Hunan with only about twelve divisions shows that they are short not only of planes and tanks, but of men, too. They cannot withdraw the two-score of their best divisions from Manchuria. Their navy is getting an inferiority complex after the Coral Sea, Santa Cruz, Midway, and Luzon. So what's the hope for Nippon? The same as for the Germans—that fateful day in November and the chance that America will break away from Britain and from the USSR.

IN ITS June 6, 1944, issue, NEW MASSES published an editorial which stated that one of those behind the anti-Roosevelt putsch at the recent Texas Democratic convention was Vance Muse of the Christian American Association. The editorial described Mr. Muse as an ex-Klansman. In a letter to NEW MASSES Mr. Muse asserts he was never a member of the Klan and offers us "an opportunity to correct the misstatement about my ever being a member of the Ku Klux Klan before taking further legal action." We hereby take advantage of the opportunity. We regret that because both the Ku Klux Klan and the Christian American Association of which Mr. Muse is secretary-treasurer, are anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, and pro-fascist, we erroneously identified him with the former.

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READERS' FORUM

Our Rich Horizons

To New Masses: The perspectives opened up at Teheran provide us for the first time in many years with a constructive program for the future. Instead of expecting, as in the past, that we are heading for civil turmoil or the iron and blood of some native fascism, we can look forward to the construction of a freer and richer society and to eventual transition—quite possibly peaceful—to new economic and social relations. All this is already beginning to have its effect on the attitudes and the political activity of the people.

Yet there is an obstacle to acceptance of the new perspectives in the fact that we have been accustomed to thinking of foreign markets, the utilization of these markets to solve the problems of our economic system, and the profit motive in general as features of capitalism and imperialism to which a man of social conscience must be unconditionally opposed. The fact that plans based upon Teheran point to a continuation of capitalism and that no attempt is made to explain away or mitigate these features of capitalism which have long been regarded as malefficient, makes it difficult for many to adopt the new perspectives wholeheartedly.

We have grown accustomed to thinking that our society is split, and will continue to be split till new social relations are established, between capitalists and workers. In the pursuit of profits, the capitalists—we have thought—must unalterably oppose higher living standards for the masses, since high living standards mean high wages. Inasmuch as labor fights for high wages, we have thought there must always be antagonism between labor and capital. In the matter of foreign investments, similarly, we have regarded it as inevitable that capitalists, seeking a high rate of profit, should be opposed not only to labor unions in the colonial areas but also to such popular and democratic movements as tend to raise the standard of living of the colonial peoples and consequently to raise labor costs.

We have now to grow accustomed to the fact that at present our society is split and will probably continue for many years to be split not in the old way but between progressive capitalism working along with labor and the people on the one hand and reactionary capitalism, tending toward and merging into fascism, on the other. Such is obviously the situation today when the majority of our industrialists are collaborating with the workers against the advocates of negotiated peace and the admirers of Hitler in this country, and against the might of world fascism abroad. We tend to think of this cooperation between the majority of our industrialists and the workers as being a temporary accident of the war, but instead we must regard it as a condition that may well continue far into the postwar period.

When we readjust our ideas about the nature of the cleavage in our society, then it will cease to surprise us that policy backed by a coalition, so to speak, of labor and capital, should be at one and the same time capitalist policy, involving markets and the profit motive, and yet policy calculated to advance the welfare of the people, that it should be progressive policy in the scientific sense that it tends to expand rather than decrease total production.

How will such policy differ from the far-from-progressive capitalist policy with which we have been familiar in the past? In domestic matters, the important feature, no doubt, will be that while individual capitalists will continue to bargain for the cheapest labor costs and will therefore be in conflict with specific labor unions, they will nevertheless give their support—as reactionary capitalists will not—to a government with labor backing, a government which will utilize the power of the state to strengthen labor, to increase the security and raise the living standards of the people. In foreign affairs the important feature, similarly, will be that while individual capitalists will bargain for low labor costs, they will nevertheless support a government which will utilize state power to strengthen labor in the colonial areas and to promote friendly relations with popular and democratic movements of the colonial peoples.

In the past our industrialists have driven down labor costs till they have robbed the people of purchasing power and so deprived themselves of markets and hence of the chance to make a profit. Only the most thick-headed industrialists, those who fall into the camp of reaction, now wish to continue this suicidal policy. As for the others, while they will be forced as individuals to seek low labor costs, they may be expected to have brains enough to see that if markets and profits are to continue the people must have high wages and therefore to support a government which will use state power to raise, not lower, the general standard of living.

In foreign affairs, past policy—imperialist policy—has been to seek a high rate of profit by combating all tendencies in the colonial areas which tend to raise the standard of living. Imperialists have thus been brought into alliance with reactionary interests—the alliance of British imperialism and the Maharajahs of India, for example—and have used their influence and where necessary their armies to crush labor and such popular organizations as make for democracy and independence. The imperialists have been successful in keeping the standard of living in the colonial areas at a wretchedly low level and consequently in depriving themselves of their foreign markets—so that they have been forced to explore further and further in the search for new markets till they have become involved in rivalry with other imperialist powers, with the results we all know. Again, only the most blind adherents of the past, those who fall within the reactionary camp, wish to pursue these suicidal policies further. As for the majority of our businessmen, we may expect that while in foreign territory as at home they will be obliged to strive individually for cheap labor, they will nevertheless support a government which will utilize state power to promote such organizations of labor and democracy in the colonial areas as will raise the standard of living and consequently expand our markets.

Clearly a rising standard of living in this country, plus industrialization of other countries and a rising standard of living there also, offer vast opportunities for enterprise. While it is true that with the industrialization of the rest of the world we will approach a period when foreign markets will come to an end and when a transition to new economic relations will be necessary, we can expect that a generation or two will elapse before we will have to face that problem, and in the meantime progressive policies, and only progressive policies, offer a hope for a functioning capitalist society.

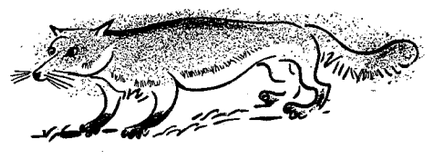
The awakened peoples of the colonial areas may be expected to give every cooperation to a capitalist power which will serve to industrialize their countries and at the same time to promote those fruits of industrialization, democracy, and independence, but may be expected at the same time to offer every resistance to imperialist intervention.

But the only final assurance that we can expect progressive policy from the dominant section of the capitalist class must lie in American labor and the progressive organizations of the people. Without the alliance with us—an alliance in which we are voluntary partners—no progressive policy could be expected of capitalists in the first place, for without such an alliance the individual demand for cheap labor costs would drive the capitalists as a class to their old suicidal policy of depriving themselves of their own markets. While only our cooperation makes possible the inception of progressive policy, only our steady initiative, our leadership, and our determination will keep this policy on the right course.

When people see that in the postwar period the profit motive and the development of markets will not necessarily run counter to the welfare of the people but may become once again, as in the early days of capitalism, an instrument for increasing the well-being of the people and extending democracy, they will no longer have difficulty in making the Teheran perspectives their own. And without doubt to catch a glimpse of the world to be gained through the continuation of progressive policy will do more than anything else to spur us to immediate action, first the winning of the war, and second the utilization of the franchise to ensure the continuation in office of the administration which at this moment is supported by that coalition of labor and progressive capital which has it in its power to construct a livable postwar world.

Gaylord C. LeRoy.

Philadelphia.



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THE CONDITION OF MR. MUMFORD

By JOEL BRADFORD

WITH this volume* Mr. Mumford presents the third panel in a triptych portraying modern society. It is conceived and executed surrealistically, in the sense that Mr. Mumford here sets forth the deliverances of his private imagination. The style, after the manner of Dali, is realistic; the content is dream. The Freudian sprites of id, ego, and super-ego caper engagingly through these pages; and we are led to believe that past epochs fell lamentably short of the wisdom here made available.

The style, I say, is realistic, for Mr. Mumford expounds his ideas in the form of an intellectual history of the western world. It is history in respect of the fact that the leading thinkers are placed approximately in their correct periods, and it is intellectual in respect of the fact that the thinkers are asserted to have written books. I am sorry I cannot be more precise and say that this intellectual history deals with their ideas as well. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Mumford ascribes to some of the men ideas which they did not have, omits to mention the ideas which they did have, and frequently misunderstands the ideas which he mentions. In one remarkable passage, dealing with Darwin and Spencer, the doctrines of each have been ascribed to the other, so that an accurate account of both seems to be completely defeated.

These difficulties are mildly enhanced by a free manipulation of chronology. The Cambridge Platonists, for example, are assigned to the sixteenth century, though all previous histories place them in the seventeenth. The Renaissance, it is suggested, was initiated by John of Salisbury *circa* 1150. On one page Protestantism is assigned to the sixteenth century, and, on another, to the twelfth, when it came into existence "in order to prevent the rise of the bourgeoisie." Professor Tawney seems to have written his famous book in vain.

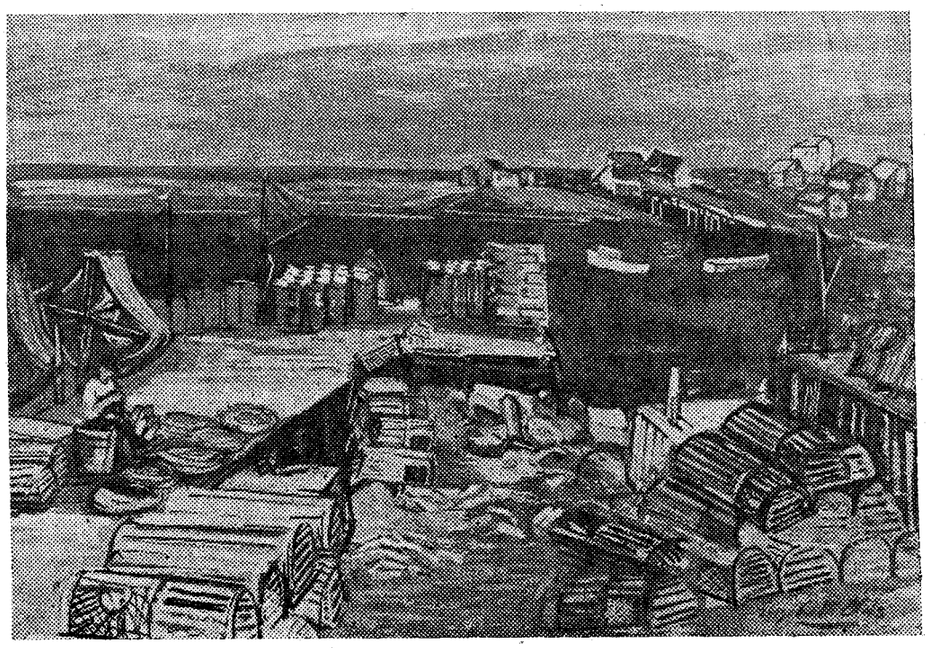
The historical realism of Mr. Mumford's dream is well sustained by the quality of Mr. Mumford's literary style. His scientific vocabulary is one not often found in books of history, doubtless to their loss. Thus the period commonly known as the Renaissance is entitled "Upsurge of the Libido," and under that head are invitingly arrayed such subjects as the courtier, the "disrobed divinity" (the new woman), the country house, and Ignatius Loyola—somewhat, I should imagine, to that saint's surprise. Each of the historical epochs is equipped with its own ego, super-ego, and id; and we are agreeably informed that capitalism lowered the Christian super-ego to a point where the id (possibly also Christian) could more nearly approximate it. There is, further, an occasional use of Darwinian and Mendelian language. Feudalism, it is said, gave rise to capitalism not by class struggle, but by mutation. It was very wrong of Marx not to know these things.

But these scientific terms are scarcely as imposing as the more frankly poetic ones. It had never occurred to me that the well-rounded personality could be compared to a set of poorly excised tonsils, but on page 173 this remarkable simile is brought off: ". . . the extirpated human tissues reappear again in the organism, like tonsils that have been only partly removed by a clumsy surgeon; the whole man reasserts himself." Those are pretty active tonsils: they "reappear again."

The subject of the "disrobed divinity" moves Mr. Mumford, not unexpectedly, to display a yet more resourceful vocabulary. The Renaissance painters, he says, wonderfully increased the range of woman's erotic stimuli. "The very milk of her breasts, that bovine attribute of peasant motherhood, now became, in Tintoretto's 'The Origin of the Milky Way,' a source of erotic titillation." Tintoretto here portrays a handsome Venetian courtesan, set among the stars. I refrain from saying what the picture suggested to me. What it suggests to Mr. Mumford is obvious: it makes him think of cows and peasants and of the beautifully animal processes which nurture infant life.

Mr. Mumford's style, it must be admitted, does not always maintain so passionate a pulse. It is often merely expository. I quote these passages, however, to show how true it is that he prefers the finer things of life, and how justly he reproaches Marxians with a materialist inability to do likewise.

WE COME now to the dream itself, that marvelous surge of recorded and imagined history which sweeps, not too much hampered by dates, through the pages of this book. Now, it suffices if a dreamer dreams vividly; he is not required to be accurate. One therefore cannot com-



"Wharf," by Elizabeth Olds.

* THE CONDITION OF MAN, *by Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace. $5.*

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plain when Mr. Mumford says, for example, that the Greek mysteries "kept their secrets too well to leave a sufficient record behind," whereas the fact that Greek literature abounds in references to those "secrets" shows that they were generally known. Nor can one complain when Mr. Mumford says that Plato attributed the virtue of temperance to all classes in the Republic, whereas in fact he assigned it to the artisan class alone.

But when it comes to a major concept of a major thinker, one is saddened to have the dream present it exactly in reverse. According to Mr. Mumford, Aristotle's doctrine of the mean is conceived mathematically, the mean of conduct being determined by the extremes. Aristotle, however, was careful to say that this is precisely what he did not intend. "If," says Aristotle, "ten pounds are too much for a particular person to eat and two too little, it does not follow that the trainer will order six pounds." The trainer will order just the number required; more will be too much and less, too little. In ethics, then, the mean determines the extremes, and is the act which perfectly suits the circumstances you happen to be in. This is an important principle, it is one of Aristotle's finest insights, and it states the very essence of good program-making. Mr. Mumford will not easily persuade us that it contributed to the downfall of Greek civilization.

I pass over the account of early Christianity, with the single observation that the entire social content of Jesus's teaching is carefully omitted. As for medieval Christianity, it suffices to say that Mr. Mumford writes of it with appropriate nostalgia. The chief defect of the Middle Ages appears to have been a scarcity of bedrooms. The consequent publicity of relationships had a most unfortunate effect upon the id.

When we come to more recent centuries, the dream recovers its topsy-turvy charm. Leibniz, whose theory of the "windowless monads" is perhaps the most preposterous ever conceived by a reputable thinker, is regarded as the greatest of the pre-Kantians. Hume's attack on mechanism is misunderstood to be an attack on rationalism and science, and a quotation from the *Treatise* is used to distort his ethics into one of pure selfishness. Quite the opposite is true, as Mr. Mumford could easily have shown by continuing his quotation for just one more sentence: " 'Tis not contrary to reason for me to chuse my total ruin, to prevent the least uneasiness of an Indian or person wholly unknown to me." Mr. Mumford eschews the use of footnotes, and so I will insert here the information that the passage will be found in Hume's *Treatise*, Bk. II, Sec. III.

Spinoza, the most profound and saintly spirit among modern philosophers, is mentioned only once, thus: "Spinoza sought to build the certainties of God and political freedom and ethical order on a few well-chosen postulates and theorems about life." This sounds like a sentence from an undergraduate notebook, recording not quite what the professor said. You would never recognize the man who founded the higher criticism of the Bible, whose famous polemic against final causes emancipated science from theology, and whose concept of democracy far surpassed that of his contemporaries: a society in which "all the people wield their power as a whole."

LET us look now at the Darwin-Spencer confusion. Everybody knows that the principle of a struggle for survival in the animal world has been used to justify economic competition and human poverty. Mr. Mumford attributes this view to Darwin. Spencer, he says, had "a more humane philosophy." The historical fact is exactly the reverse. It was Spencer who affirmed this brutal doctrine in a book called *Social Statics*, published in 1850. Since the *Origin of Species* did not appear until 1859, Darwinism was not even in existence when Spencer wrote. When it did come into existence, it was quite the opposite.

In the *Descent of Man* (1871) Darwin wrote: "Nor could we check our sympathy, even at the urging of hard reason, without deterioration in the noblest part of our nature. . . . If we were intentionally to neglect the weak and helpless, it could only be for a contingent benefit, with an overwhelming present evil." Nor does Darwin need the assistance of Kropotkin, which Mr. Mumford generously proffers him, for he writes at some length on mutual aid among animals. Lastly, it is not true that Marx and Engels welcomed Darwinism as a verification of the class struggle. They welcomed it as a biological theory and as an unintentional satire upon the bourgeois view that competitive society is the highest state of man, whereas it is merely "the normal state of the animal kingdom." These are Engels' words, and I presume that Mr. Mumford has never read them.

The dream attains nightmare proportions when we reach Karl Marx. Here Mr. Mumford's propensity for ignoring what men really said is reinforced by a hatred of everything Marxist. Equipped with the works of Edmund Wilson and Max Eastman as secondary sources, Mr. Mumford goes forth, a modest but hopeful David, to slay Goliath with a spitball.

It seems that Marx was bourgeois in origin, was never a manual worker, was "parasitic on the earnings of his friend Friedrich Engels," was contemptuous of Russia, and "concealed the apocalyptic vision of a Jewish prophet behind an elaborate facade of scholarly investigation." The contempt of Russia is a completely false allegation, since Marx, who learned Russian at fifty, wrote in 1882, "Russia forms the vanguard of revolutionary action in Europe." The charge of parasitism is mere slander. The suggestion that Marx, as a bourgeois, could not understand the problems of the proletariat is laughable. Must a man be able to lay an egg in order to know that it is rotten? Marx was far and away one of the most learned men of his time. Imagine the "scholarship" which reveals that Marx was no scholar!

It is therefore no surprise to find that Mr. Mumford misunderstands all the Marxist concepts which he discusses. When he says that *Capital* is "vitiated by a scholastic theory of labor value that bears no relation to historic or economic reality," it is clear that he has missed the all-important distinction between labor and labor-power, on which Marx's entire thesis is founded. When he says that surplus value is "a metaphysical phantom," we discover that he has confused it with the speed-up. When he denies that all change is dialectical, on the ground that some change is non-violent, it is obvious that he has no understanding of dialectics whatever. When he says that the class struggle is not the only force in history, we must simply ask, whoever said it was? Mr. Mumford's Marx resembles Karl Marx as a mud-pie resembles a mountain.

IT WOULD, however, be wrong to say that the book is devoid of all accuracy. It is true, for example, that Thomas Aquinas justified marital cohabitation on the ground that it provides a kind of medical treatment for "the wife's concupiscence." I do not agree with Mr. Mumford that this view is "common sense," but at any rate it is Aquinas'. Similarly, Mr. Mumford tells us the date (1564) of the invention of a certain prophylactic device, and for all I know this is correct. He is persuasively acquainted with the *ars amatoria* of every epoch; and these passages are, not inappropriately, the most interesting parts of his dream.

But Mr. Mumford is Joseph as well as Pharoah: he can interpret what he dreams. And just as the things of real life acquire an inverted importance in sleep, so it turns out that while Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Hume, Kant, Hegel, Marx, Darwin, and even Freud were more or less wrong, Mr. Patrick Geddes was altogether right. I will humbly confess to a lack of acquaintance with Mr. Geddes, though I am acquainted with his inferior predecessors, and have even read their books.

Mr. Geddes, it seems, is "the Bacon and the Leonardo, perhaps the Galileo, of an idolum that will replace the half-world of the period of expansion." Now, when you consider that Leonardo had some difficulty in being Leonardo, you will realize what an

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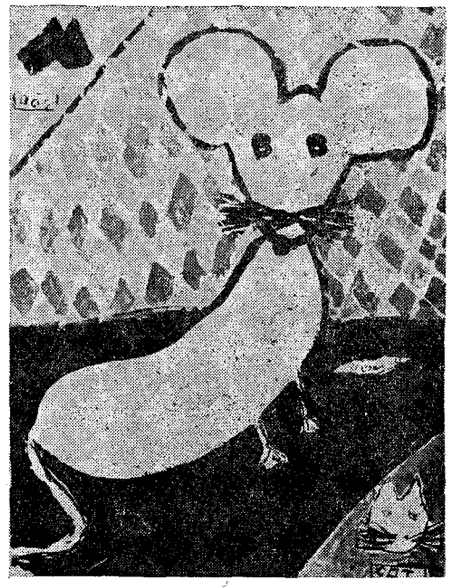
achievement it is for a man to be not only Leonardo but Bacon and Galileo and the creator of an idolum besides. Mr. Mumford sets forth admiringly the content of Mr. Geddes' idolum, and we find that it urges chiefly three things: a rigorous limitation of economic goods, a regeneration of the individual soul, and more babies. The first of these will free man's spirit from the dark influences of the machine; the second will free us from the leadership of men like Stalin, who is a despot, and Roosevelt, who is insufficiently anti-fascist; the third will lower the average age of the population and will be a magnificent Affirmation of Life. This program is offered at precisely that moment in history when, through an industrialization of the world, an enormous abundance of goods for the first time become possible; when Roosevelt and Stalin are actually engaged in defeating fascism; when, under long generations of peace, the birth rate may be left to take care of itself. The vision, I fear, has proved tendentious; the dream conspires against reality. The friends of Teheran will do well to watch its future development.

Having now passed, in a survey of the book, through so brambly a thicket of errors, I wonder, as doubtless the reader wonders, how some intellectuals get that way. And how, having got that way, do they also get reputations? The scholarly world, as I have known it, is one in which at every mistake a reputation dies. But one reviewer, in pronouncing this book great, says he uses the term "advisedly"; and another speaks of the "astute analysis" of Marx, Darwin, and Freud. Our soloist's fatal falsetto is drowned in the thunderous applause of a claque.

Mr. Mumford's errors, as I have been at some pains to show, are much more than errors of interpretation. They arise from a lack of contact with the original sources and from a dependence on secondary sources which are themselves not too close to the original. But why should a man, in undertaking a survey of western thought, omit that most important part of an historian's task—examination of the objective evidence? The answer to this question will reveal what I take to be the secret mechanics of Mr. Mumford's methodology.

THERE are among us certain intellectuals who have somehow persuaded themselves that their own minds are magic vehicles of truth. In their view, the question of what is or is not the fact is much less important than the question of how one thinks about it. Thus, one of the reviewers, while confessing himself incompetent to judge the book's accuracy, says that he "knows" that "the total upshot is revealing, disturbing, appealing, and elevated." A remarkable bit of knowing, that! For if the book is inaccurate, what



could it reveal? Whom could it disturb? How high could be its elevation? Obviously, what the reviewer wants, and what he thinks the readers wants, is a set of lovely and luscious feelings. The spectacle is fairly comic: a roomful of complacent intellects enjoying revelations, disturbances, and elevations, and exuding a hatred of Marxism as their natural sweat.

This is mysticism—feeble, to be sure, but genuine. Now the trouble with mysticism is that it cancels all the scientific and logical criteria which distinguish truth and error. Each single mysticism, therefore, has deprived itself of any means whereby it can establish its own validity as against other mysticisms. Your mystic can only speak a little louder, employ a more sulphurious vocabulary, or bedew his pages with yet more copious tears. He exhibits his soul instead of the world, his thoughts instead of things, his fancies instead of facts.

Accordingly, in Mr. Mumford's view, history is a vast jelly on which various patterns may be imposed, the nobility of the pattern corresponding to the nobility of the historian's soul. You may, for example, apply biological concepts to history, and talk of "survival" and "mutation." You may apply Freudian concepts. You may purloin Francis Bacon's "idolum," and by the use of it present the ensemble of thought in every age. You may even apply that most breath-taking of platitudes, "some times are times of growth and some are times of decay," and terrify your contemporaries with the assurance that the latter half belongs to them.

The dangers of this technique are best illustrated in the use of Freud. It is by no means generally agreed that the id, ego, and super-ego actually exist; but if they do exist, they exist as parts of the human personality. By what logic can we project this structure upon history? If past epochs may be said to have had super-egos, why

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not also sneezes and knee-jerks? Why not take Pavlov's dog as the model, and produce a behavioristic theory of history in which the flowering of cultures might be described as salivation at the sound of a bell?

Equally revealing is Mr. Mumford's use of the term "idolum," which refers to the complex of ideas dominating a given epoch. An idolum is not required to be true—indeed, as Bacon used the word, it was synonymous with illusion. It is only required to dominate. Mr. Mumford advocates his own idolum, not asserting it to be true, but only desirable. This amounts to saying that there cannot be, nor do we need, a science of history and of human planning. We need merely what Mr. Mumford calls "spiritual animation."

How far all this is from the method of Marx! The existence and the interaction of classes was, and is, an objective fact. The modes of economic and social organization were, and are, objective facts. Marx imports into them nothing from his own soul or from anyone else's. There is no analogical reasoning, but simply the tracing out of historical change in terms of the most decisive social forces, which in their various relations give every epoch its new and special character.

It is time for all aspirants to intellectual leadership to cease attributing to Marx the sins which they have and he didn't. If they really believe in personal regeneration, I can assure them that their task is large enough for an early beginning. They will need to remember that possession of the loveliest soul will not compensate for one idea distorted or one fact ignored. If they do not, it will one day be said of them, as Tawney says of the Puritans: "They despised knowledge, and knowledge destroyed them."

Inside a Nazi

THE FIRING SQUAD, *by F. C. Weiskopf. Knopf. $2.50.*

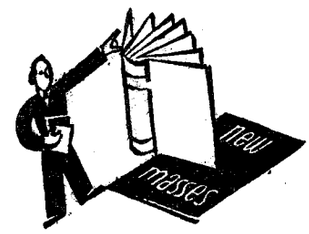
MOUNTING evidence of German disintegration lends extraordinary interest to this penetrating novel by the Czechoslovak author of *Dawn Breaks*. Mr. Weiskopf, departing from the conventional pattern of anti-Nazi fiction, takes us *inside* the German army to illuminate the process of disintegration from the point of view of the German soldiers themselves. To draw a convincing portrait of the Nazis in fiction is no simple matter. The novelist must get inside his characters before he can make them thoroughly real, and getting inside a Nazi, even if only in imagination, is as difficult as it is unpleasant. Nevertheless that is the novelist's job. And in admirably fulfilling it, the author has deepened both our understanding of the enemy's crime and our confidence in his collapse.

The story is dictated to a Russian nurse by Hans Holler, a German soldier who has been blinded in action and taken prisoner at Stalingrad. Ironically, his physical blinding has helped him to see clearly the truths he had previously evaded. An educated Sudeten of the middle class, Holler represents those Germans who are not active and eager proponents of Hitlerism but who are nonetheless accomplices in its destructiveness. He went along with the Nazis by compromising his conscience to the point where his actions became indistinguishable from theirs. He became accessory to a thousandfold crime. And in reviewing his life, he understands that he cannot be absolved from guilt. His moral weakness, inertia, apathy, and cowardice have served Hitler.

Holler dwells on the summer and autumn months of 1942, when he was stationed at Prague. The story begins with the assassination by Czech patriots of the hangman Heydrich, the Black Cobra, and ends with the German debacle before Stalingrad. With great skill, the mood of the German soldiers is shown as shifting from arrogance to fear. The soldier who had picked his postwar estate in Russia ends up by being buried in it. Holler's "Heavenly Transport Squad" is itself transported, though not in the same direction, by suicide, Gestapo bloodletting, and Russian artillery. In this downward curve of the war, the snap goes out of the men. The shoddy ersatz stuffing of their morale wears thin.

As one of the men observes: "They always say that we can stand an awful lot. That's true in a certain sense. But all of a sudden everything smashes up. The last war, for instance. It was over almost before you knew it. What yesterday seemed hewn out of massive stone collapsed the day after like so much wet pasteboard. Yes, I guess that's what it is. It's because we can take so much that we explode with a bang or go *pffft* like a pricked toy balloon. . . ."

THE men of Holler's squad present an interesting variety of German types. Chabrun, an aristocrat with a Junker's contempt for the vulgar Nazis, places "duty" and "service" to the military machine above his distaste for the clownish upstarts; he is at once a sardonic critic and a servile tool of the Nazis. Horst Fritz Dietz is a phonograph record of Goebbels' speeches, the "ideal" SS man, a fanatic student of "racial science"; as Chabrun says: "When you hear his name spoken, it sounds as though he slept with his spurs and helmet on." Klobocznik, the bloated, flatfooted innkeeper from Berlin, will just as soon see one man die as another as long as his own skin is safe. Seelke, almost fifty, is a pathetic excuse for a soldier, and Maurer, a former textile worker, is biding his time until he can escape from an army that he knows to be his own enemy.



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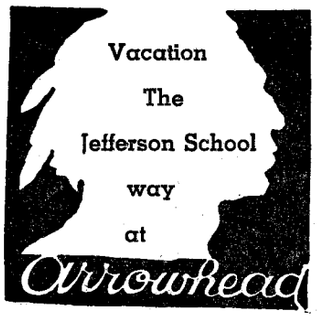

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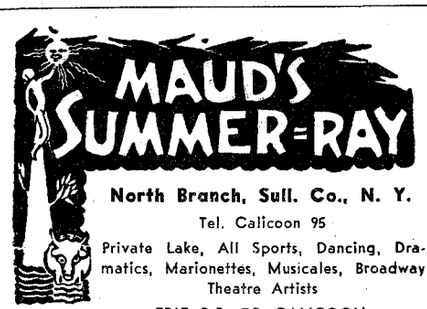

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In the portrait of this group, the author illustrates his thesis, expounded by Holler: "I recall what Sergeant Klahde once said to us in a National Socialist lecture: 'You must always act, men, as though you were in the position of the old German Catti. Before a battle, all the men were chained one to another so that none of them could flee.' Believe me, Nurse Marussja, the German soldiers are like the old Catti—they are all chained to one another, chained to the wrongs they have done or have failed to prevent. That's what makes it so hard for most of them to change sides. There's also their inertia, their tendency to let things slide, their refusal to fight against apathy, their willingness to put up with the lesser evil."

What these men have in common is their participation in the same crime. The center of their unity is morally rotten, like that of the German civilian life which is here portrayed. The inability to distinguish between right and wrong, the breakdown of sexual standards, the servility and the fear that are described through Holler's Uncle Helmut and his family betoken the degeneration of human values under Hitler. And yet to say that all Germans have succumbed to this atmosphere is untrue. It is belied by the fine figure of Holler's mother and his sister Barbara, the peasant Reichardt and the textile worker Maurer, "the faithful ones, the bearers of the flame."

This is a novel unusually rich in characters and ideas; it is more complex than the author's *Dawn Breaks*, though the narrative is equally swift and compelling. Its approach to Germany and the German people is far more serious and informed than most stories that have appeared during the war. The reader will particularly enjoy Mr. Weiskopf's delightful humor, a necessary weapon in any picture of the Nazis. This novel imaginatively projects the big bust-up which the combined blows of many fronts are daily hastening.

SAMUEL SILLEN.

For a Free Asia

OUR JOB IN THE PACIFIC, *by Henry A. Wallace. American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations. $.25.*

THIS pamphlet by the Vice President is one of the most important pronouncements on the kind of postwar world we look forward to in the Far East. In it Mr. Wallace gives his views of our relations with the nations and pre-war colonies of the Pacific, and while he wrote the pamphlet before taking his trip to China and the Soviet Union there is little doubt that his observations during that journey have deepened his impressions without changing his basic perspective.

Aspects of US policy in relation to the Far Eastern situation have been recorded in many official acts and statements. Notable among these was the joint declaration following the Cairo Conference last fall in which President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek strengthened the pledge to fight Japan to unconditional victory. They called specifically for the dismemberment of the Japanese empire, for the return to China of all territories seized by Japan, and for the freedom of Korea. Conspicuously absent from the declaration was any mention of the colonial empires overrun by the enemy in the first flush of the attack.

However, the Atlantic Charter and the later Declaration of the United Nations pledge the Allied nations to the principle of self-determination of dependent areas. The British Prime Minister on several occasions excepted the British colonies from this principle and on one occasion he and President Roosevelt issued a statement with respect to France which implied a return of the French colonies after the war. In the case of the Dutch empire, the richest and largest portion of which lies in the Pacific, Queen Wilhelmina has indicated the possibility of a sort of dominions arrangement, but has hedged the principle of self-determination with so many qualifications as to make the status of the Atlantic Charter very unclear.

On the positive side the record reveals several clarifying statements. President Roosevelt, in order to counteract the Chinese fear that the Atlantic Charter indicated a geographical limitation of its application, said, "The Atlantic Charter applies not only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic, but to the whole world." He added, "The peoples of Asia know that if there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of them or for us, that future depends on victory by the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement."

The most definite exposition of our policy with respect to colonies came from the President on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of the Philippine Commonwealth in the fall of 1942. "The history of the Philippine Islands in the last forty-four years provides in a very real sense a pattern for the future of other small nations and peoples of the world." He went on to characterize that pattern as based on two factors—a period of preparation and a period of training—both looking forward to ultimate independent sovereignty. In March of this year Mr. Hull stated that responsibility for such preparation and training rests upon the colonial powers.

There is not much else in the political field that has been said or done during the war period that points directly to the Far East. Moscow and Teheran, of course, supply the premise. But beyond the moves, some of them contradictory, that I have

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listed above little has been predicated upon that premise that bears concretely upon the multitude of problems arising in the Far East.

Mr. Wallace has now come forward with a pioneer effort to present a comprehensive picture of what our foreign policy toward this area should be. This and the skill with which he has done the job gives the pamphlet its importance.

ASIA, as Mr. Wallace sees it, is divided into three parts. First, there is "Free Asia" based upon Soviet Asia and China and which in due course will include the Philippines, Korea, and Thailand. Secondly, there is "Subject Asia" or "Colonial Asia" including those "countries whose present rulers have not yet committed themselves to definite dates for the emancipation of their colonial subjects." And lastly there is Japan. "It is to our advantage," the Vice President writes, "not to perpetuate this division but to see an orderly process of transition so that the area of Free Asia will grow and the area of Subject Asia continually diminish."

The United States has an important role to play in this area and it is in its own interest to hasten the process of transition to freedom. How can this be accomplished? "A free, strong, prosperous, and democratic China could serve as an immensely powerful stabilizing factor in the Pacific"; "Asia's need after the war will be for capital and technical assistance. America's need will be to utilize fully our greatly expanded industrial capacity"; "Russian-American friendship must be one of the main pillars of the century of the common man"; "It is to our interest that there should be a ladder of evolution upward out of colonial subjection and coolie economics to self-government and an economy of opportunity and reward"; "Our primary objective must be to keep Japan disarmed . . . [but] it is to the advantage of the free peoples that Japan should eventually join them"; "The thing we must avoid at all costs is any type of new imperialism"; "Almost every aspect of our job in the Pacific which we have discussed in this pamphlet leads forcefully to the conclusion that peace in the Pacific demands international cooperation."

Those quotations give the gist of Vice President Wallace's program. He calls for a foreign policy which consistently supports liberal, progressive policies for democracy and freedom as against those which continue to subject peoples to a system of "coolie economics."

THIS is admittedly a pamphlet, with the limitations of a pamphlet's brevity. It is, moreover, a first attempt on the part of a high government official to reexamine publicly "the whole question of our place in the Pacific." Its shortcomings, therefore, should be indicated not in the spirit of complaint but in order to suggest places where the analysis and program may be deepened and extended. I should like to to take up two issues which it seems to me are inadequately handled.

Mr. Wallace discusses at relative length the importance of rapidly increasing the tempo of China's economic life through a coordinated program of industrialization, land and farm reform, education and public health—a program, incidentally, which applies to all the underdeveloped regions of the world. Only by indirection, however, does he touch upon the most crucial wartime problem which the Chinese people and her allies face, namely, the problem of internal unity and the powerful fascist-minded clique which today restricts China's fighting ability. The same omission was noticeable in the joint statement issued by the Vice President and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek upon Mr. Wallace's departure from Chungking.

Mr. Wallace in contrast speaks out boldly on the colonial issue which touches vitally the policies of our ally, Great Britain, and of the Netherlands and France as well. These matters he explains are strictly our business "because in southeast Asia there are conflicting forces in operation which have in them the seeds of future wars." By the same token if not by the more serious one that China's disunity threatens the war effort itself, is not China's internal problem also very much our concern?

There can be no doubt that this vital subject was paramount in the Vice President's mind during his Chungking conversations. In the joint declaration with the Generalissimo it is referred to indirectly in the reference to the importance of "mutual understanding" with "China's nearest great neighbor, the Soviet Union." Agreement on this point naturally cannot be reached so long as defeatists, appeasers, and fascists hold high positions in the Chinese government and in the Kuomintang. Mr. Wallace takes a similar line in his pamphlet, but there he adds the following significant argument: "China's prestige," he writes, "is linked with her ability to demonstrate that the process of democracy can take root as firmly in Asia as in America and Europe." In another context in the pamphlet he throws further light on the same question when he says, "It would be foolish, for instance, to export large amounts of goods and capital to a country which invests them in armaments and arsenals, and wise to trade with countries whose prosperity and *democratic practices* make them our natural allies." (Emphasis mine.)

I have already indicated the nub of Mr. Wallace's outlook. He wants to see the colonies become free and independent through a process of preparation and training. He believes that the powers must set

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"a definite date for the termination of trusteeship and the beginning of independence and self-government." In saying this he recognizes that in Great Britain, the Netherlands, and within the French Committee of National Liberation there are "powerful forces which will fight for the old system of empire."

How the liberation of traditional colonial policies is to be brought about the Vice President fails to say. It is a subject which cannot be left to an inevitable destiny. It is a problem upon the solution of which men must exercise wisdom, leadership, and initiative. As far as the question of colonies is concerned little of these traits has so far been evidenced by the dominant groups in any of the Allied capitalist countries.

ONE of the really great contributions made by Earl Browder in his new book, *Teheran: Our Path in War and Peace,* is on this very subject. Great Britain, he points out, and other colonial powers are fearful of a postwar world in which they will be subjected to the unbridled commercial competition of the vastly more powerful capitalist nation, the United States. He writes, "The main reason why the British cling so stubbornly to their obsolete colonial system is not to be found in the supposed innate conservatism or incapacity for change in the British character. Rather it must be seen in the fact that the British can see available no other instrument to avoid being overwhelmed by the gigantic forces of American capitalism. . . . Unless this well-founded fear of British capital can in some way be allayed there is not the slightest prospect of the formulation of a long-time joint policy for Asia."

How is this contradiction to be resolved? What can the United States give to Great Britain in the form of economic assurances in return for the systematic liquidation of the British colonial empire?

Mr. Browder answers: "A joint British-American political line looking toward the stabilization of Asia must, therefore, be founded upon an economic concord which will limit the play of free competition between them on the world market, within the framework of a certain guaranteed proportionate share to the economically weaker power." And, he adds, "The Anglo-American political and economic program for Asia must be of such a character that it would be underwritten and participated in by the Soviet Union."

The section on "America and the Colonial Problem" is certainly the most controversial in Mr. Wallace's pamphlet. It will arouse resentment and opposition on the part of British commercial interests whose stake is so thoroughly imbedded in the colonial structure. It will be seized upon by the demagogic orators of the Dewey-Bricker campaign. His perspective of the goal of freedom and independence as basic to the new world structure is unassailable. The trouble is that he has not gone far enough; he has not indicated the practical methods by which the colonial issue may be resolved. It is here that Mr. Browder points the way.

While limitations such as these in the Vice President's views should not be overlooked, the pamphlet as a whole is a forward-looking document of very considerable importance.

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

Zweig's Last Tale

THE ROYAL GAME, *by Stefan Zweig. Published with "Amok" and "Letter from an Unknown Woman." Viking. $2.50.*

THIS is Stefan Zweig's last work—written immediately before he committed suicide. The letter accompanying the neatly typed script mailed to Zweig's American publisher, B. W. Huebsch, was one of the last letters he wrote. Now the publisher presents us with this work in a very good translation which he himself has done.

The author tells the story of a strange event he witnessed on an ocean liner trip from New York to South America. The world chess master Czentovic, an uncouth Yugoslav peasant boy with no other spiritual gifts than an almost magic talent for chess, plays two games against an Austrian refugee, Dr. B., who tells the author that until his imprisonment in the Gestapo-occupied Hotel Metropole, he had not played chess since his childhood. Driven to near madness by imprisonment, Dr. B. was rescued by a book about chess. He was forced to play alone, over and over again, the 150 games described in the book. This created a certain schizophrenia, a complete division of his internal life—a sort of chess-poisoning. And Dr. B.'s physician forbade him, after his release from prison, ever to play chess again.

But Dr. B. cannot resist Czentovic's challenge. The incredible happens—the doctor defeats the world master in the first game. The second game is given up by Dr. B. after Czentovic has driven him almost to insanity by playing extremely slowly.

Stefan Zweig's passion for the description of strange psychological situations appears here once again. A deep pessimism pervades the whole tale, which Zweig intended perhaps to symbolize the struggle between a refined, tender, over-sensitive intellectual of his own kind and a rough, tough, unspiritual, technically highly trained type (who might be a fascist but also simply a prototype of the "modern time" which Zweig feared, misunderstood, and fled from).

The volume also contains two of Zweig's older novelettes which were hitherto avail-

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able only in separate books. All three testify to Zweig's skill as a writer but also to his inability to go beyond the borders of a melancholy and sterile pessimism and a metaphysical play of shadows.

O. T. Ring.

Still the Ivory Tower

POEMS, *by Dustan Thompson. Simon and Schuster. $2.00.*

Dustan Thompson's poetic technique is brilliant and breath-taking. Flashing images, subtle alliteration, a tempo now gay and now rushing forward like a streamliner, startling word associations—all are combined in a meteoric exhibition of word dexterity. But if one of the qualities of poetry is its emotional interpretation of reality, then the world of Dustan Thompson's experiences is not the upheaving, violent, blood-drenched world of today. And for that reason his brilliant technique is fettered by a seemingly studied disdain for identification with everyday experience.

The war, however, is one common experience that even Dustan Thompson cannot ignore. But his war associations in "Articles of War" are esoteric and only succeed in creating an intense feeling of pessimism. It is very evident that he has not psychologically accepted the war as a just one. His basic statements are clothed in a vague and ethereal symbolism that flashes before us in super-montage effect. "This Loneliness for You is Like the Wound" intimates that the soldier's supreme sacrifice is inevitably useless. "Deathscape with Megaliths," "Images of Disaster," "Circular Terror," "Villanelle 1," all go to make a basically gloomy book.

At this late date it is a little painful to berate the artist for his lack of social consciousness. But it is very true that he must create out of his own experience, and if that experience does not grow out of the social forces in activity it will have no sustaining substance. The different poetic effects of sound, word coloring, association, and cadence (which Mr. Thompson expertly uses) externalize the poet's sensitivities. They are a distillation of actual experience. Form and content then are interacting entities—each one conditioning the other. The serious artist would do well to seek his singing strength from the most healthy part of our society. We can no longer live in the present and leave our souls in the past.

John Hudson Jones.

Brief Review

SCIENCE YEARBOOK OF 1944, *by John D. Ratcliff, Doubleday Doran. $2.50.*

This is the third volume in a series edited by John D. Ratcliff, which assembles the most readable science articles appearing in our national magazines for the preceding year. The series makes no pretense of covering the multitudinous developments in the fields of health, physics, and chemistry. The editor uses the science headlines as guides for his selections and chooses simple, but declarative articles on these subjects.

Nineteen hundred and forty-three saw the stories of penicillin, the sulfa drugs, caudal analgesia and the fight against blood clotting, in every newspaper and periodical. The chapters included in this volume are authoritative, intended for laymen as well as professionals.

The physical sciences saw the emergence of the new vocabulary of electronics. The headlines and pictures discussed radar, the electron microscope and the betatron machine. Here again Mr. Ratcliff chose wisely and avoided abstruse technical discussion filled with algebraic symbols.

Any science editor must pay tribute to the development of scientific farming with at least one article. This volume goes beyond the usual survey with short but good discussions on new crops, artificial insemination of cattle, possibilities of growth of natural quinine in Central America, the Army K ration and the search for the important riboflavin vitamin. The concluding sections deal with aviation and kindred sciences. And of course no such compilation is complete without roseate promises for the housewife. It's all here, complete with kitchen work centers and glass brick walls.

IN THE WORLD OF ART

The art season is at an end. It has been an interesting and lively one with many one-man exhibitions by our outstanding artists, but it has not, as in previous years, brought out any new talent. Among the artists whose exhibitions left more than a passing impression were: Max Weber (retrospective), David Burliuk (retrospective), Mervin Jules, Kopman, Gropper, Evergood, Cikovsky, Jim Lechay (watercolors), Joseph Stella (retrospective), Ribak, Liberte, Menkes, Sokole, Romano, Harriton, Gottlieb, Raphael Soyer (drawings), Walkowitz (retrospective), Russell Cowles, Bouche, Quintanilla (Totalitarian Europe), Matulka, Marion Greenwood, Lily Harmon, Sol Wilson, Avery, Laufman, Tchacbasov, William Zorach (watercolors). Among the more interesting group shows were the annuals of the American Group, Inc., the Federation of American Painters and Sculptors, the Sculptors Guild, the Artists League of America, "One hundred artists

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and Walkowitz." Besides there were many exhibitions given for worthy causes in which museums and collectors collaborated to put before the public works by such masters as Courbet, Daumier, Degas, Toulouse-Lautrec, etc. Although many of these pictures have been seen before, they never fail to inspire and teach the serious artist and student alike. The only important exhibitions that are open to the public at present are those of the "Art in Progress" at the Museum of Modern Art, the returned and rearranged collection of old and modern masters at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Thomas Eakins' large and well selected exhibition at the Knoedler Galleries. It is about thoughts evoked by the Eakins show as much as about Eakins himself that I would like to write: The serious American artist of today, his place in the art world, the new American collector, etc.

With the end of the Civil War America became aware of its potential wealth, vastness, and its industrial power. In the field of art and letters Walt Whitman, Thoreau, Emerson, Ryder, Homer, and Eakins expressed best this spirit of pride in achievement and awareness of the beauty of the American scene. Of these artists Eakins was the least picturesque, the least dramatic, and poetical but, to my mind, the most profound. He was a realist in the truest meaning of that term—at the time when American artists modeled themselves after the inane sentimentality of the European salon on one hand, and after the fashionable, slick, sophisticated portrait painting that stemmed spuriously from Manet, on the other. Eakins painted quietly the people of Philadelphia, its physicians, scientists, its men and women of arts and letters. He painted them soberly, with utter honesty in natural attitudes, at rest, at work, and at play. He never flattered in his portraits and he painted the women with the same objectivity and care for detail as he did the men. While Sargent busily and successfully painted beautiful and socially prominent women, silk-gowned and bejeweled, and wealthy captains of industry, Eakins' plain, brownish studio was gradually becoming filled with uncalled-for and rejected portrait commissions.

Eakins was also one of the great landscape painters of his time. While Twachtman, Robinson (fine, sincere painters) and others tried to paint America in the manner of Monet and Sisley (as many artists today paint the Main Street of Zenith in the manner and style of Utrillo) Eakins was painting the Delaware River and the surrounding country with the same soberness and earnestness as he painted his surgical compositions. Today, when one takes a landscape by an artist of that time—innovator though he may have been—and puts it alongside an Eakins landscape, one cannot help but realize how much truer and more like nature is the Eakins.

It may sound like a paradox, but art that has lasted has often been purely local, confined to a country and a people. Truthfulness of observation and the deep humanity with which the artist endows his subject elevate art and make it universal. It is in this sense that Eakins' staid Philadelphians are kin to the Amsterdam burghers of Rembrandt.

Like Cezanne, who could not sell his paintings during his lifetime, Eakins gave away many paintings to his friends and devoted pupils, as one can judge by inscriptions and dedications found on many of them and one would like to think that although unsuccessful in the Sargent meaning of success, Eakins found within himself, in the unswerving devotion to his ideal, a deep satisfaction. Great as his influence has been in American art in the last decade or so, one feels that his work will be felt still more in time to come.

DUE to the war the French "art business" has, to a large extent, been transplanted into our country. The good and the evil of this business came along with it. The French dealer or *marchand* has brought with him all the glamor of French salesmanship in art and managed to obscure in the public eye a good deal of what is good in American art. Please do not construe this as an attack on European art or the advocating of nationalism or regionalism in art. There is naturally good and bad French art and the same holds true of American art, but what one objects to mostly is the publicizing and the glamorizing of European art, no matter how trivial and decorative. This tends to distort all sense of proportion in art evaluation.

A new type of art collector has developed in the last five years or so. He is not a Mellon or a Frick, but rather a middle class businessman or professional. Various factors may have led to his emergence—the war, the WPA, the Museum of Modern Art, the above-mentioned European influx, and others.

The most important cause, in my opinion, has been the WPA. This government agency has brought art to many distant parts of the country and by exhibitions, publications, murals in public buildings, and art classes for children and adults, has awakened the people and given them a more intelligent understanding of art. These new collectors have no agents to rely upon, they know little, their art education is as yet but a little beyond the elementary stage. They buy by intuition and rumor, often, sad to relate, not because they love or understand but because they hope that what they buy today will bring handsome returns tomorrow. (The tragic story of Eilshemius is a case in point.) Reputations of artists are often built by this spurious buying and selling.

Genuine artists, like Eakins, work seri-

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ously and steadily and their progress is undramatic. They are at a disadvantage compared to the artists who paint fast and who are highly publicized by their dealers and collectors. How then could collectors know what is permanent and impermanent in art when artists themselves are often in disagreement? This is a great and complex problem and cannot be solved readily. A good beginning might be for collectors to form clubs and societies as artists do, where they would meet with artists, dealers and writers on art, discuss art, publish monographs on living artists, hold exhibitions of their private collections and thus take art as seriously at least as literature and music. The only gallery so far that has published valuable leaflets, illustrated catalogues and several monographs on living artists has been the ACA. Lately it has begun to issue a lively little art magazine in which are discussed vital problems and in which the public is invited to air its opinions.

I hope all this does not sound utopian and I wish that NEW MASSES' readers would contribute their ideas towards a solution of this problem. Only when art becomes a part of our everyday life can we hope for a strong, vital, living, art. It will be American, not regional, in character and, like all great art, universal.

A NEW and welcome addition to the art galleries of the city is the newly opened 44th Street Bookfair Gallery. It is situated in the very heart of the theatrical district and is one of the few galleries open late in the evening. Two charming young ladies, Elizabeth Savage and Hedwig Gailuis, are in charge. The present exhibition is aptly entitled "New Artists in New York."

All the artists represented are young, their reputations are yet to be made, and judging from the work on the walls, these reputations will not be long in coming. It is a bright, brave, and interesting show and the standard of the work is high. Among the pictures I liked especially were the finely observed and well composed unostentatious little still life by Natalie, Jeanne Edwards' awkward, adolescent dancer and her soundly painted, delicately colored "Daisies," and Ken Scott's well designed, gay, provocative "Summer" and "Vegetation." One of the strongest and most mature pictures in the exhibition is Nell Booker's "Reba," representing a woman in a thoughtful attitude with her hand on her chin, gazing sadly at the beholder. It is good, and acute in observation, if somewhat exaggerated in drawing. Other pictures that stood out were Hale Woodruf's dramatic watercolors "Erosion" and "Dust-Storm"; Gerry Howland's somewhat sad, thoughtfully planned seated figure; and Lucille Wallenrod's moody, maturely painted seascape.

MOSES SOYER.

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